

REASON AND RACE
John LaFarge

SOCIAL ORDER

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In-laws Or Outlaws?

John L. Thomas

Economics of H. Pesch

Goetz A. Briefs

Budgets and Taxes

Francis J. Corrigan

ARTICLES • TRENDS • REVIEWS • LETTERS

SOCIAL ORDER

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St. Louis, Missouri

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SOCIAL ORDER

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1953

INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL ORDER

St. Louis, Missouri

SOCIAL ORDER

LEO C. BROWN, S.J.

National Director, Institute of Social Order

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... just a few things:

THE EDITORS OF SOCIAL ORDER and the staff of the Institute of Social Order, at the close of another volume, offer to our readers—and especially to our devoted contributors—our sincere and cordial gratitude for their collaborative work in the tripartite effort, involving contributors, readers and editors, in the work of producing the magazine and in the vastly more important work of social reform. We hope that you will continue to help us in both jobs.

To readers and contributors we offer also prayerful wishes for a blessed Christmas and, as last year, a renewed invitation to join with us in earnest prayer to the Prince of Peace that the New Year may bring peace to our world.

A YEAR AGO, two memorable articles by Father John L. Thomas discussed the factors in breakdown of marriage among Catholics. The first paper, a general examination of the problem, assigned positions of relative importance to several notable factors. The second treated a significant point which his studies had emphasized, namely, that the length of time a couple had been married affected the relative importance of sources of trouble. He found that in the first year of a marriage (which is the most crucial in breakdown) the most frequent source of trouble came from difficulties with in-laws.

This month Father Thomas studies in some detail the question of in-laws. Within the next few months he will

present two other studies on marriage. One of these will be concerned with marital troubles involving a bride who was pregnant at the time of marriage. The second article will be based upon a new research project on which Father Thomas is engaged: the cultural patterns of marriage in various ethnic groups in the United States.

ONE OF THE PIVOTAL ideas of *Quadragesimo Anno* is the urgent need to restore the proletariat to a place in society, and the means to that restoration is the widespread distribution of private property. In this issue, James V. Schall, S.J., maintains the position that measures of social reform can be little better than palliatives until something has been done to "reapply the principles of private property to the American industrial state."

Rational liberty, he rightly contends, is the indispensable condition for social order, and property is the bulwark of liberty.

FATHER JOHN LAFARGE, "the dean of Catholic Action in this country," as he was recently described, has been a leader in work for interracial justice in the United States for many years. In recent months he has been engaged in reviewing his career in this and in numerous other fields of religious, literary and social endeavor as he prepared his autobiography, *The Manner is Ordinary*, to be published next month. SOCIAL ORDER is happy to present an

advance printing of part of the La-Farge story which deals with his work in founding the Catholic Interracial Council in New York. The New York chapter has been the center whence the movement has spread to more than twenty cities throughout the country.

IN HIS REVIEW OF Father Richard Mulcahy's work on the economic thought of Heinrich Pesch, Professor Goetz Briefs discusses a subject on which he is an outstanding authority. As a first-hand disciple of Pesch, he understands the economic philosophy of that great thinker intimately. He was one of the contributors to the Pesch Anniversary symposium issue of SOCIAL ORDER (April, 1951).

FOR THE PAST TWO MONTHS a distinguished group of scholars has collaborated with the staff of the Institute of Social Order in the direction of SOCIAL ORDER. Without further comment we inserted the names of these outstanding personages in the masthead of our November issue, where they also appear this month.

While their names will be familiar to most of our readers, we had hoped in this issue to be able to give some information about their rich background of knowledge and experience which they bring to bear upon social problems and their discussion in SOCIAL ORDER. Unfortunately, the matters to be treated in ". . . just a few things:" this month make it impossible to present those details to you now. But they will be included in our January issue.

Meanwhile, we would like now to express our deep gratitude to these men for the time, trouble and thought

which they are generously giving to the editors and readers of SOCIAL ORDER.

AMONG THE ISSUES that will face the 83rd Congress in January, few will be of greater immediate concern to people than the question of taxes. Reduction in income and excise tax rates, even when combined with a somewhat reduced budget, means serious trouble with the balance of income and expenditures. One of the proposals aimed at increasing government revenue, a general federal manufacturers' excise tax, is analyzed by Dr. Francis J. Corrigan in this issue.

The brief presentation of facts about this public issue is one of a series SOCIAL ORDER hopes to continue. Dr. Mihancock examined a new immigration bill last month. Next month we shall print short, factual analyses of the Bricker amendment and, should developments warrant it, of proposed amendments to the Taft-Hartley act.

AS IN PAST YEARS, we are ordering a limited number of bound volumes of SOCIAL ORDER, 1953. These will be available some time around the first of the new year. The binding is an L.B.I. Class A binding in black buckram, stamped in gold. Orders may be placed now at \$5.50 a volume. Bound copies of Volumes I and II are also available at the same price.

MAY WE SUGGEST that SOCIAL ORDER makes a unique and, we believe, a welcome Christmas gift for any relative or friend interested in social problems. The enclosed card gives you our attractive subscription prices for the Christmas season.

F.J.C., S.J.

In-law problems cause conflict in many marriages of immature couples and lead to serious breakdown in approximately ten per cent of marriages between Catholic parties.

IN-LAWS OR OUTLAWS?

Kinship Bonds in Marriage Conflict

JOHN L. THOMAS, S.J.
I.S.O.

WHAT WOULD HAPPEN to some after-dinner speakers and cartoonists if a form of marriage were devised to do away with in-laws? The mother-in-law theme, particularly, provides an inexhaustible source of humor. Of course, there is a more sombre side to the picture. In-laws (and again the mother-in-law leads the field) are accused of driving untold numbers of couples to drink, desertion and despair. At times, this approach takes on the character of a vitriolic attack against the whole female "species," as in Wylie's *Generation of Vipers*. Again, as in Strecker's *Their Mothers' Sons*, "moms" who refuse to cut the "golden cord" are made accountable for the high incidence of neuroses in the armed services and marriage. Fact or fiction, the in-law theme, like the weather, is a recurrent topic of conversation. It may be worthwhile, then, to learn what family sociologists can tell us about it. What does science say in this case?

Students of the problem are in virtual agreement that in-law adjustment constitutes one of the most serious problems encountered by young couples in achieving marital happiness. For example, in a study of 409 couples who have been married an average of twenty years, women mentioned in-law relationships second, and men, third among six areas calling for adjustment in marriage. In another study of 544 couples

in the early years of marriage, in-law relationships were given first place in the list of difficult areas requiring adjustment.¹ The relatively high rate of incidence, however, offers no gauge of the problem's seriousness. Most cases in these two studies characterized themselves as happily married. In general, most studies indicate that in-law adjustment is a problem of early marriage; it is occasioned more frequently by the wife's family; it involves the mother-in-law more often than other members of the respective families, and successful adjustment in this area is closely related to happiness in marriage.²

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

Before presenting my own findings on this question, a few preliminary observations are in order. First, for the average happily married couple, in-laws are not "problems." On the contrary, they are normally looked upon with esteem and affection. Of course, in the early months of marriage, while both parents and newlyweds are getting used to their new roles, mutual adjustments will be required. Second, when in-law problems do arise, one must not make the a priori assumption that the

¹ These studies are reported in: Judson T. Landis and Mary G. Landis, *Building a Successful Marriage*, Prentice-Hall, New York, 1953, pp. 302-03.

² Cf. Ernest W. Burgess and Paul Wallin, *Engagement and Marriage*, J. B. Lippincott, Philadelphia, 1953, pp. 598-99.

in-laws are the cause of the conflict situation. There seems to be a general tendency to blame them in all cases. This is an uncritical assumption not squaring with facts. Frequently, immaturity or the past experience of one of the spouses with their own family renders them inimical to all in-law contacts.

COMPLEX PROBLEM

Third, the in-law problem is complex in its nature and its origin. It may arise out of the very situation. For example, living with the parents after marriage or having a parent in the home can give rise to problems frequently solved only by a change in the situation. Overidentification with one's parental family, frequent in early marriage, may cause resentment. Religious, cultural, ethnic or social class differences, especially if they are accompanied by latent non-acceptance of the "outsider," give rise to tensions and antagonism coloring all in-law relationships.

Fourth, the incidence of in-law conflicts in a given culture is no indication of the control of the extended family or of the amount of their "interference." In many cultures the control and consequent "interference" of the extended family is persistent and extensive, but there are few in-law "problems" because young couples have been reared to accept this patterning of family relationships. In an industrialized urban culture, however, the nuclear family (composed of husband, wife and immature offspring) is supposed to form a relatively autonomous unit brooking no outside interference and maintaining a husband-wife "companionship" ideal which appears extremely chary of even emotional attachments to the extended family group. Under such circumstances, opportunity for conflict, particularly from the side of the over-possessive parent or the immature newlywed, can be expected to be prevalent.

EFFECT ON MARRIAGE

The question is frequently asked: Do in-laws break up many marriages? The usual answer is: Not if the couple are fairly secure in each other's affections and are mature enough to discuss their families objectively. Of course, this is not really an answer, since we would like to know how often situations arise in which failure to work out satisfactory relations with in-laws leads to breakdown of marriage. My research leads me to conclude that at least among Catholics, such failure occurs in less than ten per cent of marriages which end in separation. This conclusion is based on the study of three separate groups of unstable Catholic marriages. It appears, therefore, that when it occurs, the problem of in-laws, like that of money, may lead to considerable tension and may call for extensive adjustment by one spouse or both, but it is usually resolved short of marital breakdown.

Material for the present study was supplied by the analysis of 222 broken marriages in which in-law problems figured more or less prominently.⁸ In slightly less than fifty per cent of these cases failure to resolve the in-law problem appeared as the primary factor in breakdown. In the remaining cases other unstabilizing factors were present together with the in-law problem so that it was impossible to judge what part the latter had played in causing the marriage to disintegrate.

It might be well to note here that when dealing with marriage cases in which in-law interference is alleged by

⁸ These in-law cases were drawn from a larger study of 7,000 marriage failures involving Catholics. See John L. Thomas, S.J., *Some of the Factors Involved in the Breakdown of Catholic Marriages*, unpublished doctoral dissertation, Harper Library, University of Chicago, 1949, 296 pp.; also "Marriage Breakdown," *SOCIAL ORDER*, 2 (December, 1952) 445-50; "Marital Failure and Duration," *ibid.*, 3 (January, 1953) 24-29.

one of the parties, the marriage counselor must make every effort to ascertain at what stage of marital conflict the alleged in-law interference occurred. Very frequently in-laws are obliged to step in and protect their blood relative from abuse and mistreatment. The offending party, through a later rationalization of his conduct, will insist that all would have been well had in-laws not "interfered." This process of "telescoping" cause and effect occurs in most personalized accounts of marriage problems. Once a couple start to weave the tangled threads of discord into the web of their lives, the entire pattern of their relationships takes on a different shade. Where did the trouble start? One must have the patience of Penelope to unweave the snarl. At times relationships have reached such a pass that the only solution is to declare a moratorium and have the couple make a fresh start.

SOME SPECIAL TRAITS

The 222 cases under study revealed some interesting characteristics which merit further consideration. The most meaningful presentation of our findings would involve a comparison of the characteristic traits of this group with those of the general Catholic population. Unfortunately, data on the general Catholic population are lacking so that we must employ data which may be termed "second best." That is to say, the 222 cases under discussion are part of a larger group of 7,000 broken marriages concerning which we do have adequate information. Comparisons will be drawn, therefore, between this larger group and the selected cases involving in-law problems. This approach enables us to underline important differences. Although it would be preferable to have a "control" group composed of "normal" Catholic marriages, the larger group does not differ markedly from the general population in most respects.

COMPARISON WITH TOTAL GROUP

The first interesting feature to be noted is that the in-law problem was characterized by national (or ethnic) differences. It involved those of Polish and Italian descent proportionately oftener than others and at about the same rate for in-group and out-group marriages. For example, although a husband of Polish descent was involved in only 13.8 per cent of the total group of broken marriages, he was involved in 20.3 per cent of the cases alleging in-law problems. Likewise, a wife of Polish descent was involved in only 16.9 per cent of the total group but in 23.9 of the in-law group. This characteristic was somewhat less marked in those of Italian descent, the percentages being 10.9 compared to 13.1 for the husbands and 10.8 compared to 14.1 for the wives. These national differences can be explained in terms of different family systems. Traditionally, the Poles and Italians have cherished an extended family system so that the modern trend toward the nuclear type completely autonomous and self-sufficient creates special problems of adjustment.

Length of acquaintance and engagement, age at marriage and age-difference characteristics of the in-law group present few marked deviations, and all differences from the total group run in the direction of greater marriage stability, if we are to credit the findings of marriage-prediction experts. For example, 40.1 per cent were acquainted for three years or more before marriage as compared to 36.1 per cent of the total group; only 29.7 per cent married without an engagement period compared to 35.6; only 7.2 per cent of the husbands were under 21 at marriage as compared to 13.0, and 55 per cent were thirty years or over as compared to 45.1 per cent; 34.2 per cent of the wives were under 21 as compared to 39.6; only 6.8 per cent of the wives were older than their husbands as com-

pared with 11.4 per cent of the total group.

The white-collar classes were somewhat more affected by the in-law problem than were the working classes; although they were only 25.1 per cent of the total group, they contained 29.3 per cent of the in-law group. This finding is somewhat surprising, since the necessity of "living in" with the parental family would seem more common among the working classes. Actually, it was found that the problem of "living in" accounted for only 9.5 per cent of the cases with in-law difficulties. Where it did occur, however, it was among members of the working classes in two out of three cases.

SOURCE OF TROUBLE

The in-law group differed most widely from the total group in the two closely connected categories of number of children per family and duration of marriage. Approximately 42 per cent of the in-law cases were childless, 37.4 had one child and only 8.5 had three or more children. The comparable percentages for the total group were 35.3, 27.3 and 18.9 per cent, respectively. The data on duration of marriage give even more convincing evidence that the in-law problem occurs very early in marriage. Approximately 24 per cent of these marriages broke up within the first year, 64.4 per cent within the first five years and only 15.8 endured ten years or more. The comparable percentages for the total group are: 13.7 per cent within the first year, 42.9 within the first five years and 33.9 per cent after ten years.

The characteristics revealed by the percentages in these categories speak for themselves. When there is an in-law problem, some acceptable adjustment is worked out early in marriage, or the partnership fails.

Perhaps the most disputed question in this whole in-law situation is who

causes the trouble. Popular belief assumes that the mother-in-law is generally the troublemaker. Landis, in the study previously referred to, states that of 116 husbands and 160 wives reporting various in-law relationships causing friction in their marriages, 42 per cent of the husbands and fifty per cent of the wives said that it was the mother-in-law. My own findings do not picture the mother-in-law quite so unfavorably. She appears as the sole in-law factor in 38.7 per cent of the cases; in the remainder, two or more in-laws are involved in the situation. If we break down these cases further, the mother-in-law figures as the sole in-law factor in only 33.0 per cent of cases which the interviewer thought due primarily to the in-law problem.

An additional disputed point is whether the families of husband or wife appear more frequently in in-law problems. It is generally maintained that in-law friction is a feminine pattern since mothers-in-law, sisters-in-law and wives are involved more frequently than are males. My findings lend some support to this hypothesis, since the wife's in-laws figured in 47.7 per cent of the cases; the husband's, in 38.3 per cent, and in-laws from both sides, in 14.0 per cent. This breakdown of cases enables us to take another look at the mother-in-law situation. Of all the cases involving the wife's relatives, her mother was featured as the sole factor in 44.3 per cent of the cases; in those involving the husband's relatives, his mother appeared as the sole factor in 45.9 per cent.⁴ However, if we consider only the cases involving the mother-in-law, we find that the wife's mother appeared in 54.6 per cent

⁴ For opposing positions on whether it is more difficult for the husband or for the wife to achieve emancipation from parents, cf. Mirra Komarovsky, "Functional Analysis of Sex Roles," *American Sociological Review*, 15 (August, 1950) 508-16; and Robert F. Winch, *The Modern Family*, Holt, New York, 1952, pp. 296-303.

of the cases. This figure follows from the fact, as we have indicated, that a higher percentage of the wife's relatives were involved in the total number of cases.

As I was at pains to point out earlier, a description of the persons involved in in-law problems does not establish the direction of the cause-and-effect relationship. In itself it does little more than outline the active agents, the two polar points of conflict. Such information will scarcely satisfy those whose censorious proclivities compel the assignment of guilt in all cases. It must be recalled that in-law problems arise as conflict or tension situations between two or more people. This situation becomes a marriage problem only to the extent that both marriage partners are involved. For example, in the typical mother-in-law problem situation, "mom" is a menace only to the extent that she controls her offspring or, stated in another way, only to the extent that her offspring immaturely values the parental bond more than the marriage bond. It is precisely the inability of one or both marriage partners to stand on their own feet that makes in-law interference effective.

SERIOUS RESULTS

Of course, this is only stating the obvious. Realism impels us to point out that competition between the long-standing parental bond and the newly-formed marriage bond can create tension. Through the manipulation of unscrupulous, selfish or well-intentioned but domineering parents, this tension can grow until it leads to breakdown of the marriage. Further, where a pattern of over-dependence on the parent has been maintained up to marriage, there is every danger that it will continue. Unless there is understanding and cooperation between parents and the "outside" partner in these cases, serious trouble can arise. Sometimes the wedding sets the stage for a long

overdue weaning process, but it is well to remember that the weaning process, whether in infancy or later life, is successful only if the parent take the initiative.

TYPICAL PROBLEMS

It may be helpful to review briefly a few of the typical situations in which in-law conflicts arise. As we have indicated, the much-discussed case of newlyweds living in with parents does not generally lead to the breakdown of the marriage. It does create considerable tension, if for no other reason than that modern urban dwellings do not have sufficient space for two families. Tension can also be increased by the very proximity of the two households. On the other hand, the situation is generally recognized to be temporary or, at least, modifiable, so that the couple frequently chooses to move as an alternative to continued conflict.

A more serious and difficult situation may arise when one of the parents lives in with newlyweds. Difference in age often leads to difference in outlook and customs. However, among normally mature people the situation, while not always mutually satisfactory, is generally manageable.

Real trouble occurs in those cases in which the parent (generally the mother) resents the loss of the economic and/or emotional support of her child through marriage. In this situation, my experience has been that such women can be utterly ruthless, stopping at nothing to regain monopoly over their child. Subtle remarks, innuendo, persistent criticism, false accusations, feigned sickness, tears, assuming a martyr's role are the chief techniques they employ to achieve their ends. Frequently the only solution lies in breaking up the unhappy threesome. In practice, this involves making a choice between parent and marriage partner—unfortunately, the parent does not always lose.

There is also the phenomenon of "momism" of which Wylie and Strecker have written. This can be a mother-daughter or a mother-son combination and is equally disruptive of marriage in either case. Actually, the daughter or son reared in such circumstances is incapable of mature marriage relationships. Dependence is so deeply interwoven into their personality from childhood that they are lost without "mom." Obviously, they should never have married, but in the ordinary course of events they do. Not only are they incapable of fulfilling their partnership role in marriage, but "mom" has no intention of losing her child through marriage. Where the husband is involved, case histories reveal a pattern of non-support, infidelity, irresponsibility and frequent desertion back to "mom." The mother-daughter combination generally ends with the females taking a stand against all males. When the marriage counselor gets the case he learns that the husband is "over-sexed," a "beast," a "drunkard" and so forth.

IMMATURITY IN PARTNERS

Sometimes in-law problems arise because of immaturity in one or both marriage partners. When both are immature, in-laws from both families tend to become involved. The marriage remains unstable, since it never has become an adequately autonomous unit, with the result that major decisions are frequently made by the in-laws and necessary adjustments are avoided by having recourse to over-helpful parents. Immature partners tend either to exaggerate or to minimize the significance of the marriage bond. That is, some childishly resent their partner's customary and natural affection for parents and are unduly upset if in-laws attempt to counsel or assist. On the other hand, some seem to forget that marriage implies the establishment of a new social unit, and they merely strive to integrate their partner into

their parental family group. If these attitudes are stubbornly retained, real marriage conflict can follow.

Finally, there is the situation of non-acceptance by the parental group. This non-acceptance can be based on religious, national, cultural or social class differences. Even when clearly recognized and foreseen, these differences create tension in marriage—although they constitute no real threat to stability if the partners are mature. Further, it is usual for non-acceptance to disappear when the parents see the couple enjoying real happiness.

This treatment of the in-law problem has by its very nature emphasized the "outlaw" aspects of in-law relationships. It would be misleading and unrealistic to dismiss this topic without pointing out that most in-law relationships are maintained with a minimum of friction on both sides. For every marriage breaking up through in-law "interference," one could easily point out many saved by parental aid. The nuclear family is no social ideal. Kinship bonds are prime realities which can be ignored only at the expense of a stable family system. That they should be exploited by the selfish or prove harmful to the immature surely constitutes no grounds for their neglect.

People implicitly recognize this truth. To be sure, they may joke about some in-law situations, but the general tendency of mature marriage partners is to respect the kinship bonds of their mates even when they find it difficult to understand them. This delicacy is illustrated by the story of the couple who were planning a second honeymoon on the occasion of their silver jubilee. Pointing to the little old lady sitting quietly at the window, the husband said, "Darling, do you think it will be all right if this time we leave your mother at home?" "My mother?" exclaimed the wife, "Why, all these years I thought she was yours!"

The most urgent problem facing those who are interested in social welfare concerns the widespread diffusion of private productive property, the source of freedom.

LIBERTY AND PROPERTY

One of Our Most Urgent Problems: a Return to Ownership

JAMES V. SCHALL, S.J.

Mt. St. Michael's College, Spokane, Washington

ATRAGIC IRONY of today is that men, while paying great reverence at the shrine of human liberty, progressively lose respect for the essential condition of liberty: widespread ownership of private, productive property. Nowhere do we see a major political party devoted to this ideal. With few noteworthy exceptions no scholars reapply the principles of private property to the American industrial state.

There are, of course, all types of plans to organize every phase of the political and economic scene. Indeed, there are even planners who seem to think that salvation lies in organization. But, since any deviation from such master plans would destroy the plan itself, the schemes leave little room for human liberty. To organize the social economy without first securing human liberty "is, by definition, slavery." Organization and control there must be, but it must come as the result of the vitality of free men, not as a plan foisted on the whole citizenry from above.¹ Such methods seem to "free" men by telling them what they

must do, instead of permitting them to act according to their rational liberty.

MEANS AND END

Few well-considered and practical movements, however, have posited as their first principle the fundamental foundations of human society and hence the foundation of human liberty. "The first consideration for a society," wrote Christopher Dawson,

is not to maintain the volume of its industrial production or even "the standard of life" [living] in the current sense of the expression but the quality of its population, and that cannot be secured by mere expenditure of money on so-called "social services;" but only by the preservation of the natural foundations of society: the family and the land.²

Many Catholic scholars take an active part in the movement to cure American social ills. Their books and periodicals demand serious attention and study. In the opinion of this writer, however, they fail too often to stress the ultimate social and political end for which they labor—true, human liberty—and the means to be used—that is, a reapplication of the principle of private property. The just wage, labor unions, profit-sharing, co-partnership, co-management, the industry

¹ The difference is important. If a man is forced to follow an economic master plan, regardless of its conflicts with his rights and duties, he is a slave no matter what he is called. But if men have other means to protect themselves and at the same time bring order into chaos, such organization is the opposite of slavery.

² Christopher Dawson, *Enquiries into Religion and Culture*, Sheed and Ward, New York, 1933, p. 43. The term "land" means the ultimate source of wealth. It does not deny the obvious fact that wealth must be processed and distributed.

councils are subjects which constantly find their champions. In encyclicals and pastorals, however, these ideas are either means of a return to private property or a support of property and its modifications in a society in which property shall have been secured.⁸ Property, in turn, will insure the liberty of men.⁹

The insistence, however, on a return to private property should not be confused with any capitalistic tirade against socialism or communism, for it is painfully obvious that communism is a threat only because liberal capitalism was a failure. Rather, the insistence is a plea for Christian democratic thinkers to work out a sound and practical application of the principle of private property to the American scene, to advocate the basic importance of human liberty and of its necessary supposition, private property. It is a plea for a real alternative to the capitalistic-socialistic dilemma—that trap which seeks to con-

⁸ This statement cannot be adequately discussed here. Further illumination will be found: 1. on the just wage in *Quadragesimo Anno* (hereafter, *Q.A.*), n. 63; 2. on labor unions in *Rerum Novarum* (hereafter, *R.N.*) n. 42; same quoted in *Q.A.*, n. 32; 3. on profit-sharing, co-ownership and co-management in "The Church and Social Order," 1940 Statement of the American Hierarchy, *Our Bishops Speak*, Bruce, Milwaukee, 1952, p. 335; 4. on the *ordines* in *Q.A.*, n. 82; 5. in summary: "The majority must somehow become owners, or at least in part, of the instruments of production. They can be enabled to reach this stage gradually through cooperative productive societies and co-partnership arrangements." "Bishops' Program of Social Reconstruction," *Our Bishops Speak*, p. 258.

⁹ "The Church places such strong emphasis upon private ownership, control and operation of productive property for two reasons. In the first place, she regards a strong family structure as the cornerstone of a Christian society and of civic liberty. Secondly, she realizes that the ownership, control and operation of productive property is the economic bastion of personal freedom and of a virile family life." *Social Justice Statement of the Australian Hierarchy*, 1948.

vince men that the only possible alternative to the capitalism of the cartels is the socialism of the state or, conversely, that the only alternative to leftist socialism is rightist liberal capitalism.

It is vitally necessary, therefore, to understand what is meant by human liberty and by the principle of individual, private, productive property. Only by clarifying these notions can the nations avoid the chasm of human economic slavery. If a solid basis of liberty for the common man is not established, it will be impossible for him to withstand domination—whether of state or of the "private" owner of all productive property.¹⁰

HUMAN LIBERTY

Liberty includes more than Montesquieu's "...ability to do what one ought to desire and in not being forced to do what one ought not to desire . . .".¹¹ This is the first step, the most fundamental part. Yet liberty is more than the right to do what is fitting. It is also the right of doing what is beautiful, what is fine, what is just ordinary. Liberty is the realm in which there is no external compulsion, the area where a man can act by free, rational choice according to his own designs.

Liberty, of course, is not to be confused with license. A man is not "at liberty" to break the moral law or the commandments. Such laws place positive restraints on the sphere of a man's

¹⁰ These are the only two alternatives, I believe, in civilized states. There is a different type of relationship between high and low in societies based on kinship. "The essence of barbaric society is that it rests on the principle of kinship rather than on that of citizenship or that of the absolute authority of the state." Christopher Dawson, *The Making of Europe*, Sheed and Ward, New York, 1937, p. 68.

¹¹ *The Spirit of Laws*, quoted in Howard R. Penniman, *Saint's American Parties and Elections*, Appleton-Century-Crofts, New York, 1952, p. 5.

free choice. But liberty does mean the fullest possible choice for every man in those vast areas in which he can legitimately act. In a very real sense, then, liberty is the right to be different, or, if you will, the right to be perfect.

But liberty does not mean freedom.

Freedom . . . is a subjective conception. It designates a consciousness in us of what we are, an inner illumination of our nature whereby we know ourselves as moral agents, able to discern right and wrong and to exercise the power of moral choice. In this sense no man is free who does not know himself as being possessed of a free will. . . . Freedom can be had only by men who know what kind of creatures God fashioned them to be.⁷

A slave, therefore, can have freedom, but he is certainly not at liberty. A man in secure circumstances, on the other hand, can theoretically be at liberty, but by his philosophy or religion he may have destroyed his own spiritual freedom.⁸

It is not, however, to be supposed that liberty does not ultimately depend on freedom. It does. For liberty secures an area in which a man can freely choose. If that man has no desire to exercise his power of choice, of what value is his liberty? That is why the idea of human liberty has risen with Christianity, for it is a product of that dynamic spiritual freedom implanted in the very marrow of those societies which have embraced the Faith.⁹ Thus

it is becoming increasingly clear that the modern world cannot even have the liberty it so ardently cherishes, if it does not embrace the Faith it so skillfully avoids.

PRIVATE PROPERTY

Now let us look at the idea of individual, private, productive property. The words are carefully chosen: *individual* as opposed to an impersonal corporation or trust, *private* as opposed to public, *productive* as opposed to property that is owned but which is not productive (as one's house or garage). *Productive* is a vitally important element in the definition. For, since property is designed to support liberty, it must give a source of livelihood to a man who has to defy those stronger than he, who desire to place an unjust restriction on his liberty.¹⁰ The liberty to be oppressed is a mockery. But productive property is not exclusively equivalent to land, though land is the ultimate source of all wealth. Stores, shops, mines, factories, trucks, ships are productive as they are all positive cogs in the final production of wealth.

These observations on property and liberty clear the way to the core of the modern problem, that is, the support of liberty by property. For there must be something which enables a man to exercise his liberty, something which enables him to withstand effectively any attempt on the part of a state or a private baron or organization to restrict his liberty. That something is and always has been individual, private, productive property.

Now it is apparent that no man who absolutely depends upon another for the land which he tills, or the capital he

⁷ Ross Hoffman, *Tradition and Progress*, Bruce, Milwaukee, 1938, p. 103. Some authors use "freedom" for "liberty." In the rest of this essay, the use of the terms will follow the given definition. The author is indebted to Hoffman's chapter, "Property, Basis of Liberty." On the central place of freedom in socio-economic thought, see the excellent analysis of Johannes Messner, "Freedom as a Principle of Social Order," *Modern Schoolman*, 28 (January, 1951) 97-110. This article is summarized in *SOCIAL ORDER*, 1 (April, 1951) iii.

⁸ In the sense that he looks at everything as "determined," whatever that means.

⁹ See Charles Norris Cochrane, *Christianity and Classical Culture*, Oxford University

Press, New York, 1944, for the classical concept of the individual in the state.

¹⁰ Private property must always work towards the common good. ". . . The earth, though divided among private owners, ceases not thereby to minister to the needs of all . . ." as Leo XIII forcefully puts it in *R.N.*, n. 7.

invests, or the job at which he labors is at liberty to defy the person controlling the land and the capital and the industry upon which he depends. To do so would bring starvation upon himself and upon his family. "There is no liberty," observed Lord Acton, "where there is hunger . . ."¹¹ Man must have property that will keep him alive during those times in which his liberty is being challenged. Without it, he must submit to those who control the means of livelihood. There is no third choice.¹²

But is the stress on productive property as the basic safeguard of liberty valid? Why may not property be merely one of many safeguards—one with government, public opinion, unions, cooperatives and other forces? This is a crucial point. The reason is that private property is meant to protect individual human liberty against not only the state and the trusts, but also against public opinion, trade unions, cooperatives or any institution which may threaten human liberty. Besides, it is well to note that public opinion and government itself depend ultimately on the liberty of the common man, not vice versa. Both can aid liberty, but neither is its foundation.

GUARANTEED ANNUAL WAGE

Nor is a guaranteed annual wage an adequate substitute for property as a support for liberty. It comes back to the original problem: Who will guarantee the wage? There is a more human

objection to the substitution of wage for property. For property is something a man owns; it is his work, his pride, his livelihood; it bears ". . . as it were, the impress of his own personality . . ."¹³ It is the natural desire of a man to own something of his own, to be able to labor for what is his. This is why the popes have always insisted that just wages should lead to ownership. "There are many factors which must contribute to the greater diffusion of property. But the principle one always will be a just salary."¹⁴

POSSIBILITY OF PROPERTY

Private property, therefore, is essential to human liberty. No individual human liberty can long exist without it. This is not to say that a collectivist state, or a capitalistic state, or a fascistic state, or a slave state cannot provide food and welfare for its subjects. It can. And that is the precise delusion which contemporary society faces. It is confronted with systems perfectly willing and capable of securing material welfare—at the price, of course, of human liberty, to trade bread for submission. Indeed there are signs that some men prefer such security to liberty. But they would not, if the light of liberty had been kept shining for all to see, if the real foundation of liberty had always been the goal of reformers and revolutionaries. Yet it is not too late. Surely if a workable alternative, one based necessarily on private property and human liberty, can be presented, men will soon flock to the new standard, a standard the ordinary man recognizes instinctively as the natural support of his liberty.

Any discussion of private property leads back to the perennial problem:

¹¹Acton Manuscript, n. 5,500, in the Cambridge Library, quoted in G. E. Fasnacht, *Acton's Political Philosophy*, Hollis and Carter, London, 1952. Acton's idea of liberty is akin to Montesquieu's.

¹²The most staunch defenders of this view are, of course, Chesterton and Belloc. Belloc's *Restoration of Property* should be read in this connection. Chesterton was capable of defending property in essays ranging in topic from Chaucer to the delights of a pint of beer.

¹³R.N., n. 7. SOCIAL ORDER will shortly print an article on the converse of this thesis, namely, that the administration of private, productive property produces a formative and developmental effect in the owner. Ed.

¹⁴Pius XII, Radio Address, March 11, 1951.

Is it possible from a merely pragmatic point of view, for all men to possess private property? This does not mean that every person will own private property. It means rather that a sufficient number in any given community will so possess property that it will determine the community tenor and attitude and thereby secure the habit of liberty for all. It is in this sense that public opinion and government can aid liberty.

The answer to the question presents the real difficulty to the modern American state. It is the central problem to which Christian democratic thinkers must devote their thought. This essay, in spite of the many digressions necessary even to pose the problem, is an attempt clearly to present the nature of the issue and to indicate the direction, at least, in which its solution lies. In short, the answer must show realistically how and to what extent the abstract principle of private property can be applied to the American industrial state.

Leo XIII has quite clearly shown what this abstract principle signifies:

. . . It is in his [man's] power to exercise his choice not only on things which regard his present welfare, but also on those which will be for his advantage in time to come. Hence man not only can possess the fruits of the earth, but also the earth itself; for of the products of the earth he can make provision for the future. Man's needs do not die out, but recur; satisfied today, they demand new supplies tomorrow.¹⁵

This is a principle valid in all times and all places. The difference in forms of property in different societies comes from the particular application of the principle to a definite time and place. The application took one form when applied to the civilization of the Middle Ages, another form in Spain and the monarchic eras, a still different form in the America of Revolution. In some societies, the application of the prin-

ple meant thirty acres and a couple of sheep or goats. In other societies, it meant five thousand acres of grazing land, or merely an acre and a half of truck garden.

GOAL OF ALL THINKERS

The thing to note here is that the principle must be applied differently for different societies and ages. It is, therefore, the first and foremost task of Catholic scholars to take this principle as a pure principle, stripped of all vestiges of its particular application in other ages and in other societies, and apply it to the conditions of American society. This should be the goal of all thinkers who seek the welfare of people in the United States.

This is one of the most complicated challenges ever posed, because the reapplication of the principle of private property must be made in a society that is not agricultural, but industrial. And it is all the more difficult because an adequate readjustment of the principle has never before been made in an industrial state. Wherever industrial systems have appeared in the past private productive property has eventually been destroyed. And even if some private holdings have survived, they have done so in spite of the industrial movement—usually as the result of an earlier, agricultural tradition.

If America were a strictly agricultural nation, the problem could be solved rather simply by readjusting small land holdings. But ours is an industrial society also—an industrial society that is gradually, but surely, destroying the well-divided agricultural properties that once dotted every area in the nation.¹⁶ Part of the task—and a vital part—of reapplying the principle of private property will, therefore, be a return to conditions which favor small family-sized farms. The land must be saved from the giant, commercial farming concerns that are so trag-

¹⁵We must except the South, but even there plantations arose over the ruins of the small men.

¹⁶R.N., n. 6.

THE BLIND MAN

No one is worthy of the title of a cultivated man if he is blind to the moral, social and even political problems of our day.

YVES DE MONTCHEUIL, S.J., *For Men of Action*, p. 122.

ically sweeping the wheat fields of Washington, the orchards of California, the farm lands in the South. This does not necessarily mean a movement from the cities to the farms, but it does mean that the children of today's and tomorrow's farmers must be provided with a real opportunity to acquire farms of their own—an opportunity which diminishes by the year.

CONCLUSION

The main task, however, is a readjustment of the principle of private property to the industrial system itself in such a manner that human liberty will be secured. In this direction must the thought of scholars be guided. For as

. . . he [St. Thomas] makes us understand that if the progress of human societies is to proceed in the direction of this liberation, it would be fully attained—that is, every form and modality of servitude, of service to another for the peculiar or private good of another, would be abolished for all men—only at the termination of the movement of human history. This will not be accomplished by a quick change and a messianic revolution abolishing private property, but by better and more human arrangements of private property.¹⁷

This task is, therefore, one of the most baffling problems ever presented to a people. It is the problem this essay presents to American scholars. What does it mean for a worker in an industrial state to own private, productive property in such a manner that it will secure his liberty? How can a man dwelling in an urban area really own some private, productive property? How

shall unions and industrial councils support private property? In brief, what does private property mean to an individual in an industrial state?

More directly, the author poses the following propositions for more immediate scholarly investigation:

1. Does co-ownership in the form of stocks secure the requirements for liberty and property?

2. If so, can such property be redistributed? How? Is a positive policy of the government a *sine qua non* for its success?

3. Are trends in ownership of corporations, small businesses and farms really contributing to a loss of liberty as the author contends?

4. Have American economists, by stressing the mechanical efficiency of the productive system and the profit motive alone, laid the seeds of their own destruction, following Mr. Dawson's dictum that ". . . the system that produces the largest profits is not necessarily the most efficient in the long run, even from the economic point of view?"¹⁸

5. If there be disagreement with the essay—as there must be—in what other way can liberty be positively secured?

These are the first and fundamental questions to be answered by Christian democratic thinkers. Only a blind man does not see that something is wrong with our state. But men want to know what is right: they are well aware that something is wrong. This much, however, we do know: A reapplication of the principle of private property to the industrial system is, in the political and economic realms, the first step, while the guiding light, the goal for which all efforts must be made is the liberty of the individual man. Many are the plans that guarantee the welfare, but deny the liberty. Frequent are the cries for liberty, but for a liberty that denies security and righteousness. It is only by a harmonious and practical application of the principle of private property to the modern American state that the two goals of all Christian and democratic aspiration can be attained—those two goals of the liberty and security of the common man.

¹⁷Jacques Maritain, *Scholasticism and Politics*, Macmillan, New York, 1952, p. 140.

¹⁸Dawson, *op. cit.*, pp. 43-44.

Pesch's great contribution to economic thought was its reorganization about some new and more realistic principles derived from the Aristotelian-Thomistic tradition.

ECONOMICS OF HEINRICH PESCH

A Review

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HEINRICH PESCH was the first to attempt an economic system based on the Aristotelian-Thomistic tradition. Before Pesch a respectable array of Catholics had treated economic and social problems, but a systematic approach was lacking. The better part of the nineteenth century was dominated by the liberal school of economics; then the note already sounded by John Stuart Mill grew louder. The classical thesis of private interest's identity with that of the common welfare seemed no longer tenable. Liberal economists, growing concerned with the welfare angle, began to recognize supplementary functions of government, particularly in the field of labor. The dogmatism and moral complacency of economic liberalism began to waver.

The impact of Marxian socialism quickened the softening-up of liberal economic doctrine. Marxism at that time presented a closed and highly unified system which vigorously attacked liberalism and capitalism. Marx' critical analysis of both contained arguments that could not be ignored. Basically however, Marxism was utopian.

Ever more clearly, economic doctrine split into "bourgeois" and "proletarian" schools, one losing faith in the identity of private interest with social welfare, the other finding welfare only in a collectivist society. Sprung from the phil-

osophy of the Enlightenment, the two schools were poles apart.

Even Marxism, since 1890, has had doctrinal difficulties. Its classical orthodoxy was past as Austro-Marxism and revisionism upset complacent "scientific" socialists. Heresy and secularism were sapping all the old economic orthodoxies.

The time was ripe for a restatement of economic principles based on the *philosophia perennis*, and into the historical situation stepped Heinrich Pesch. As a Schoolman, he could not ignore the partial truths in the other systems. True enough, liberalism had erred in making absolute and isolating certain truths about man and society. And socialism, which was a counter-system rooted in the shortcomings of liberalism, had erred by developing as an antithesis to error.

Were not individual freedom, self-interest and competition necessary elements of a well-ordered society? Was not a degree of self-liability essential to any economic system that respected the freedom of man? There were indeed truths in liberalism, but they were either overemphasized or underemphasized, as in its philosophy of government. Marxism directed its attack against the philosophical anthropology of liberalism, but its resultant antithesis shifted the emphasis exclusively to society. Thus the two philosophies,

though both derived from the same source, clashed head on. Economics was in need of a new basic philosophy since clearly the old one had spent its force. This was the task Pesch set himself. His voluminous studies on the philosophic foundations of liberalism and socialism had prepared him for it well.

PURPOSE OF AUTHOR

In his book *The Economics of Heinrich Pesch*¹ Father Richard E. Mulcahy, S.J., set himself a twofold task. First, he wished to present the economics of Pesch to the English-speaking world, where Pesch was practically unknown. Secondly, his book on Pesch was to be a textbook on welfare economics, a framework of economic theory. To this end Fr. Mulcahy quotes, wherever pertinent, modern authors on economics; partly to show the new problems Pesch had raised, partly to illuminate old problems in the light of the Peschian approach. On the whole, Fr. Mulcahy contented himself with the presentation of Pesch's work; hence the paucity of critical observations.

In his introduction, Fr. Mulcahy expresses the following opinion:

Despite his modernity, Pesch is in a true sense a "founder." He was the first economist to construct an economic theory on the foundation of Aristotelian-Thomistic philosophy. He considered it essential that an economic theory, and also the organizational principle of the economy, be established on a sound social philosophy. (p. vi)

A basic philosophy of economic theory is indeed an unexpected feature in the eyes of all who overlook or ignore the fact that all economic theory rests on explicit or implicit assumptions. Both classical liberalism and Marxism rest on an explicit basic philosophy; many economists leave their assumptions rather implicit. I recall a lecture of the famous Jesuit Father Erich Wasmann at Berlin

University. The speaker faced an audience of professors who took no stock in philosophy. The surprise was that in the discussion which ensued Fr. Wasmann took his opponents apart one by one simply by demonstrating to them the implicit assumptions whence they started. It is a good thing to make one's philosophy and assumptions explicit. Then at least the reader knows what the author is talking about.

Anyone presenting Pesch's doctrine to readers of a foreign language meets with tremendous difficulties, first of all linguistic. Pesch characterized his system as *Soziales Arbeitssystem*. Fr. Mulcahy translated this literally, "Social system of labor." Unfortunately, this term does not quite cover what is meant by *Soziales Arbeitssystem*. "Arbeit" in *Soziales Arbeitssystem* has a wider meaning, perhaps best termed an "economically necessary function."² The German terms now in use are *Leistung* and *Soziales Leistungssystem*. "Social labor system" might lead one to believe that Pesch proposed something like "laborism," which is by no means correct. In *Lehrbuch*, II, 190 ff., he makes it very clear that the working "man"—not the working hand—is the center of his system, and the working man includes *entrepreneurs* as well as all groups which provide for the spiritual and cultural needs of the people. Human *Betriebsamkeit*, that is, industriousness, effort directed towards rational activity on all levels of human needs, is for Pesch the mine which bears the Wealth of Nations. Hence *Soziales Arbeitssystem*, in the Peschian meaning of the term, is a system of socio-economic functionalism. Pesch's choice of *Soziales Arbeitssystem* may have rec-

¹ Henry Holt, New York, 1952. \$3.00.
² This point is discussed at somewhat greater length in Oswald von Nell-Breuning, S.J., *Reorganization of Social Economy*, Bruce, Milwaukee, 1937, pp. 168 and 218. The entire issue of *SOCIAL ORDER* for April, 1951, was devoted to a symposium on Father Pesch and his thought. Ed.

ommended itself as both a concession to, and criticism of, Marxism.

The example illustrates the difficulties which any Pesch translator is bound to encounter. On the whole, Fr. Mulcahy is to be commended for having mastered these difficulties extremely well.

OTHER PROBLEMS

Further difficulties lie in the stupendous scope and fruitfulness of Pesch's writings. The *Lehrbuch* alone is a monumental affair covering about 4,000 large and densely printed pages, interspersed with thousands of quotations. His studies on liberalism and socialism are voluminous, and there are countless pamphlets and articles. German authors are notorious for their involved style and long sentences; add to this the fact that the German language is very flexible, rich in terminology and synonyms and lends itself only too readily to uncontrolled and cumbersome word combinations, and you begin to gauge the size of the bear Fr. Mulcahy had by the tail.

Nor is this all. Fr. Mulcahy had to condense the life-work of a prolific scholar whose long life spanned the rapid evolution of industrial capitalism brought on by the impact of the third Kondratieff upswing, the conflict between orthodox Marxism and revisionism, the First World War, the Bolshevik revolution, the destruction of the German empire and the rise of the Social Democratic party to power and the struggle of communist groups in Germany for the overthrow of the Weimar republic. On the other hand, Pesch was a witness of the renaissance of Catholic social doctrine and the emasculation of economic liberalism. Granted that his task was made easier by the clear thread of his basic philosophy, it was nevertheless immense. All the greater then, our gratitude to Fr. Mulcahy for supplying the reader with a clear and concise picture of basic Peschianism.

Basic Peschianism. The present writer witnessed the tremendous change which the German political, social economic system underwent during the last decade of Pesch's life. The fateful years between the breakdown of the German empire and the precarious normalisation of life from 1924 on explain why Pesch wrote some pamphlets and articles which both permitted and paid tribute to the elemental uncertainties and the turbulent conditions of those years. In

I. S. O. FORUM COMING ON *Union Appeals Board*

Recently the Upholsterers' Union took a pioneering step when it set up a special board of appeals to handle grievances of its members. For details see "Trends" in this issue.

This step, SOCIAL ORDER feels, deserves serious study, both for its own possibilities and its effects on other unions' civil rights activities. Therefore we are asking three questions of a select list of American authorities on unionism:

1. Is there a need for some institution to safeguard the civil rights of union members in intra-union disciplinary actions?
2. What is your opinion of the establishment by the Upholsterers' Union of an appeals board composed of non-members to review such actions?
3. Are there alternate methods of "insuring members democratic rights to a fair trial and to an unprejudiced verdict"?

Answers to these questions will make up a Forum in the next issue. Contributors include Rev. Philip Carey, S.J., David Dubinsky, John T. Dunlop, Rev. Mortimer H. Gavin, S.J., Clinton Golden, Patrick Gorman, A. J. Hayes, Alexander Heron, Hon. Irving M. Ives, Prof. Clark Kerr, George Meany, Merlyn S. Pitzele, Jacob S. Potofsky, A. Philip Randolph, Walter P. Reuther, Prof. Benjamin M. Selekman, Edward J. Volz, Judge Robert N. Wilkin, Prof. Dale Yoder and others.

in the next issue of SOCIAL ORDER

regard to his own doctrine, they were more "left of center" than were his earlier writings. He never made concessions in principles; but rapidly changing circumstances and the threat of communism urgently required a less conservative application of those principles. In 1919 he proclaimed a complete break with capitalism and demanded a new economic system. He regarded the rise of the working classes as the fulfillment of "our ardent wishes" and the inspiring goal of Catholic political and social action. To him no repairs would do; capitalism seemed beyond repair.

Fr. Mulcahy was not attempting Pesch's biography; the man's system was his concern. Hence he paid little attention to the phase in Pesch's writings which was dominated by political considerations. These were some of the difficulties Fr. Mulcahy had to cope with before he could get to the core of his problem.

EVALUATION

How does Fr. Mulcahy evaluate Pesch's contributions to economics? It often happens that an author becomes enamored of his hero and is carried away by him. Fr. Mulcahy has not succumbed to this danger, nor has he thought it his task to view Pesch from a merely critical standpoint.

The reader gains the impression that Pesch has made few original contributions to economic thought. Fr. Mulcahy sees him more as the organizer and coordinator of the economic ideas covering centuries of development, as the mind who first conceived an economic doctrine based on Aristotelian-Thomistic philosophy. Thus Pesch's achievement appears as the great synthesis of a vast expanse of knowledge and ideas on socio-economic life. Indeed no mean contribution! Was Adam Smith more "original"? His achievement too was synthesis, and in synthesis lies his claim to fame.

Yet one does not feel quite at ease about putting both authors side by side as great synthesizers. The root of this uneasiness is obvious: Smith is the founder of economics as an autonomous science based on a few principles, whereas Pesch's mission seems precisely to undo what Smith did. He reintegrated economic life into the conditioning fulness of human existence. He retraced, as it were, the steps economics had taken from Smith on. What Smith had aimed at in the title of his work, the *Wealth of Nations*, "epitomizes the general approach of Pesch to the study of economics." (p. 13)

The basic difference between the two is to be found in the sphere of social philosophy and ethics. Smith's deism, his belief in the natural rights and natural ethics of the Enlightenment, led him to his economic individualism. His synthesis develops a philosophy of the wealth of nations based on Enlightenment thought. Pesch's synthesis establishes a doctrine of the wealth of nations based on Aristotelian-Thomistic premises. From this viewpoint, Pesch was right in claiming that his system was a new one, "since it gives to the Smithian industrial system a solidaristic foundation through the social regulation of the economic process" (*Lehrbuch*, II, p. 214). The solidaristic foundation is derived from a social philosophy which differs from the Smithian. Fr. Mulcahy might well agree with Alexander Rüstow (*Das Versagen des Wirtschaftsliberalismus als religionsgeschichtliches Problem*, Europa Verlag, Zürich-New York, 1945).

SMITH AND PESCH AKIN—

Nevertheless, the identity of purpose and method between Smith and Pesch is remarkable. Both aim at the wealth of nations; both start from philosophical and ethical principles; both display an immense knowledge of economic history. But they part ways in their fundamental philosophy. In the history of economic doctrine it is Ricardo who

Wages, therefore, are income derived from our property in our minds and bodies. This is quite clear in a slave system, where a slave receives maintenance, not wages, like a domestic animal, and anything that he produces over and above his maintenance belongs to his master. In a free society the fact is somewhat obscured. . . .

KENNETH E. BOULDING, *The Economics of Peace*, p. 102 (1945, Prentice-Hall).

first broke with the Smithian approach. Without realizing it, he turned the method of economic research towards that used in the natural sciences. The logical consistency of the system triumphed over the causal and functional explanation of economic reality. The quantitative approach denied qualitative points of view the right to exist. A profound "an-humanism" gained the upper hand, but it paid the price in increasing alienation from reality. Keynes created quite a stir with his renewed emphasis on reality, but he was accepted because he approached it with methods in current use. Pesch's attempt to present the philosophical framework of his doctrine in explicit terms and his insistence on the very essence of the economic act as a "spiritual reality" (Gundlach) is foreign to economic theories rooted in an entirely different soil.

Fr. Mulcahy deserves praise for clearly exposing the fundamental differences between modern and Peschian economics. His chapter on the nature of economic science is very illuminating. In the Peschian system the fundamentals of modern economic theory are shown to be not absolutes but relatives. They cannot be allowed to run wild. They have meaning only in the proper social frame of reference. It is precisely by

so placing them that Pesch meets with a degree of approval from modern welfare economists. Fr. Mulcahy carefully registers the points where Pesch and Pigou agree. Or do they only seem to agree? Would Pesch accept the modern welfare economics of the wealth of nations as substantially in agreement with his approach? We doubt it.

Yet the trend of our era seems to be towards a realization of the objective nature of welfare; purely subjective notions are apparently on the way out. The reason lies in the increasing emphasis on the common good. Unless powerful organizations of a group-individualistic nature succeed in putting their group interest above the common good, a true notion of the good common to all is bound to force itself upon economic thought. Fr. Mulcahy points out that it is "unanimously agreed that unemployment is an economic evil to be eliminated." (p. 34) Once this is granted, the conclusion is inescapable that there must exist agreement along other lines pertaining to the good common to all, such as objective standards of consumption, standards of savings and investment, taxation, credit policies and so forth.

In sum, let us say that Fr. Mulcahy deserves our profound appreciation for having presented Pesch's doctrine in such well-documented, reliable and concise form. Compared with modern economics' conventional approach, Pesch's may seem both dated and eclectic. The real question, however, is which approach leads to a genuine understanding of economic reality and to sound economic policies. Schumpeter's statement on the Encyclicals (quoted in Mulcahy, p. 183 n.) is an implicit recognition of the value of Pesch's life-work. And has not Boulding insisted that welfare economics is bound to founder and must be replaced by a broader approach of social and economic ethics?

Intelligent publicity, honest cooperation and the grace of God are three basic elements in improved race relations, says Father John LaFarge in his autobiography.

REASON AND THE RACE QUESTION

Musings on the Grammar of Personal Responsibility

JOHN LAFARGE, S.J.¹

America

THE CATHOLIC INTERRACIAL Council, established in New York City on Pentecost Sunday, 1934, was a "venture." As I look back over the 25 and odd years, I naturally ask myself: *What has been the balance of my experience? Where does it all come out?*

I could never see why we cannot talk reasonably upon the matters that divide various racial groups. The facts about racial difference and their meaning, or lack of meaning, for our American life, are now pretty generally known, and certainly there is no shortage of literature on the subject. The difficulties arise not from determining the principles, but from applying them to the countless situations in our rapidly changing life. And the applications are what count, not the broad pronouncements that flow easily from pen or platform. The recurring question is not "What ought to be done?" for that has been settled once and for all—but "What can be done?"

THREE ELEMENTS

Three elements are principally required, I believe, for reaching unity and harmony among the various con-

flicting groups in this country. These are intelligent publicity, honest cooperation and the grace of God.

By intelligent publicity I mean presenting to the public all that is pertinent in the case, not just a partial or distorted view, and doing this in a manner free from passion and exaggeration. The presentation must appeal to intelligent listeners. Naturally it is not easy to keep a balance between precision and strength. People who suffer real grievances become fed up and embittered with mere optimistic double-talk. They are naturally annoyed when slick magazines tell the world of the wonderful progress their race is making, but are silent over grave obstacles that still confront their efforts to attain an equal status. Any recently liberated Negro POW who has faced torture by communist brutalitarians and has resisted attempted brain-washing after being taken captive in the service of his country is embittered beyond measure when he is denied the ordinary courtesies and decencies of citizenship on coming back to his native town. On the other hand, perpetual harping on grievances meets with diminishing returns. If you have made little impression by telling your story once, you may fail to make any impression when you relate it for the second time and encounter more stubborn resistance from then on.

¹ This article is a selection from "Venture at Pentecost," Chapter 20 of Father LaFarge's forthcoming autobiography, *The Manner is Ordinary*, to be issued next month by Harcourt, Brace, New York.

Vigorous and pointed protests need to be made, in private and in public, but they are chiefly effective insofar as they appeal to some cherished belief or principle which we accept in common: such as a common religious faith; the spirit and aims of the Catholic Church; the duties, privileges and traditions of American citizenship or the honor of our country at home and abroad.

Utterly stupid publicity from any useful point of view—the type that only exasperates and perplexes—may be highly effective as a means to further a certain type of subversive propaganda. Now that Stalin is dead, the communist party in the United States presumably is free—or soon will be—from the dead hand of the uncouth slogan to which Stalin stubbornly committed it: that of setting up a segregated Soviet republic in the Black Belt of the Southern states. Communist propaganda can now concentrate upon the other and more plausible prong of their traditional two-tined program for the American Negro, that of agitation for civil rights. Communist civil-rights agitation is a perfect means of capitalizing upon certain types of human misery, but its aim is not to secure rights for the Negro or for anyone else. It aims simply at exciting greater and greater bitterness and confusion, until a situation is created where the communist party can step in and take charge.

THE SCOTTSBORO CASE

The perfect example of such procedure was the famous Scottsboro case, where the communists in 1931 edged in upon the legal defense of nine Negro youths who were falsely accused of raping two white women. Large sums of money were raised (for which no clear accounting was ever given), and the comrades carried on provocation for provocation's sake, so that the case

could be used as a powerful instrument for world-revolutionary propaganda.

Those persons who elected to work with the communists suffered a bitter and disillusioning experience, for once more the party-liners followed the old pattern of wanton provocation. Though, after nineteen years, the last of the nine boys was eventually freed, the case had served to reveal to the American public once and for all the vanity of hoping to accomplish anything for interracial justice or any other type of justice by going with a communist party front.

Though the American public is little impressed by repeated drum-beating of the communist variety, it affords a wide and ever-increasing welcome to honest reporting of any and all elements that enter into the drama of the racial groups in this country. One of the first Catholic newsmen to share our own conviction in this respect was—and still is—Mr. Frank A. Hall, director of the National Catholic Welfare Conference News Service in Washington, D. C. Mr. Hall's example was speedily followed by the Catholic press. In turn, as excellent and faithful coverage increased in the Catholic press, it brought a quick response from the editors of the various national Negro periodicals, which at present reach some four or five million readers each week in the United States and are widely circulated abroad. These periodicals discovered that the Catholic Church, through her work for the colored race and her efforts on behalf of interracial justice, through her striking events and her outstanding personalities of all groups, had a big story to tell, one of absorbing interest to their readers. The result has been to present to the great non-Catholic Negro public a fair picture of the Church—her teachings, her bishops and clergy, her rites and institutions—where formerly only grotesque caricatures or bitter diatribes prevailed.

PREPARATION — NOT REGRETS

Whenever I hear the remark, "But where I live we have no racial problems," I feel skeptical because I have heard this said of so many genuinely problematic places. However, even granting there may be nothing serious to worry about in a given community at the present time, how about the future? We can be sure that few populated areas of the nation—city, town or village—will escape the effects of ever greater crowding and tighter neighborhoods, and so of greater strain on mutual patience, sense of justice and forbearance. To paraphrase the words of Saint Paul, wherever people are getting in each other's way, then is the time to broaden our charity and make room for one another in the spirit, even if we are cribbed and cabined in the flesh.

Conflicts and riots are not inevitable even under great provocation, if steps are taken in time to forestall them. But the time for preparation is in advance, not after the storm has broken. If people, or families, live only for themselves, or for those naturally nearest and dearest to them, they are more or less bound to come in conflict with neighbors of different origin and interests. But a shared interest and devotion to a common good in the community can overcome many a rooted prejudice or antagonism. As far as the races are concerned, I see the focus of their cooperation in work to the good of the local community, even the local neighborhood. I know of no action more effective toward this end than that in which people of different religious faiths, as well as of the different racial or national-origin groups, unite for the common welfare. If the children of light—all those who believe in a personal God and acknowledge a sovereign law—do not join forces, the children of darkness and subversion will take and exploit their apathy and division.

Crowding is an evil in itself. The continual migrations are usually painful and upsetting, and it is highly unpleasant to a community to wake up and find so many new people in their midst—whether it be city or suburb or country-side. But out of these evils and annoyances determined efforts can pluck a precious flower of fellowship and social peace, which is all the stronger because it was tested in the crucible of human hearts. Hence I do not look upon such presences as a sort of unavoidable calamity to which we must perforce resign ourselves. I see them rather as an opportunity sent us by the Creator so that we can fulfill our age-old ideals under new conditions and on a broader and more fruitful scale: as a response—to use the language of Mr. Toynbee—to a new challenge, so that we may turn a time of troubles into a sturdy and lasting civilization.

FAIR EMPLOYMENT

I believe in my own case that I struck a straight course when I cooperated with A. Philip Randolph, president of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters, as in June, 1942, he and his associates organized a monster demonstration in Madison Square Garden, New York City, on behalf of equality of Negro employment opportunity. On that occasion I spoke—the only white man on the stage—to the largest human assemblage I have ever directly addressed in my life "The most significant thing about the rally," I wrote at the time, "was the fact that this historical gathering was genuinely American."

Leaders of the March on Washington Movement, which was inspired by anxiety over the discrimination in the immense defense industries, were bound by no spiritual, intellectual or political ties to any foreign land or ideology. Significantly, too, these leaders vigor-

ously rejected the advice and financial support of alien radical parties. The Garden rally was denounced by both Stalinist and Trotskyite factions of the Communist party. The latter sent Mr. Randolph, leader of the March on Washington Movement, a check for \$25,000 to help defray expense. Mr. Randolph promptly returned the check, just as he had repudiated the National Negro Congress once he perceived its true nature.

Incidentally, it cannot be too strongly emphasized that the M.O.W. movement was not communist-inspired. On the contrary, the communists bitterly opposed it, once they found they could not take it over. As Randolph remarked: "We have no use for Nazis, Communists or Fascists or their work. We consider them a menace, a nuisance, a danger and a pestilence to the Negroes and to labor in this country. We believe in the democratic process, ideals, heritage, faith and values . . . so strongly that we are ready and determined to fight for them at home and abroad."

The immediate effect, of course, of the Madison Square Garden demonstration was seen in the policies of President Franklin D. Roosevelt's Executive Order 8802, on fair employment practices. But the supremely important and permanently lasting effect was the total disassociation then and there of the civil-rights issue from the manipulation of the communist popular front.

GRACE NECESSARY

The help of God's grace is also needed in order to speak plainly on racial issues, yet in doing so not to reflect, or seem to reflect, upon the life and work of men and women who have dedicated their whole lives to the total service of the Negro in the very depth of his greatest humiliations. I have in mind persons who live year in and year out on side streets of ramshackle ghettos, cut off, in some instances, even from their own fellow-clergymen or fellow-re-

ligious order members. Such apostles find it a man-sized job to toil for the Negro under his abnormal conditions. They are laden with a particularly subtle and heavy burden: the pressure of human respect. They are identified, in the popular mind, with the one minority group in the United States which (in sociological cant) has no social mobility: which remains Negro or Ne-



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groid from generation to generation when all other groups, immigrant or otherwise, conveniently shed their original physical or cultural stigmas. And their position is not eased by evidences among even their own white co-religionists of crude prejudice or blatant social conformism.

The Church's mission work for the Negroes in the United States was, and is, a great affirmation of man's love for his fellowman. It has laid the groundwork for another great affirmation² as an answer to the challenge of our changing times and neighborhoods. The very circumstances that so disconcert us offer the opportunity to assert convincingly the unity and catholicity of the church Christ founded. They likewise offer us the opportunity to assert the unity of all mankind, as fashioned by the Creator—a unity grievously wounded and disfigured by sin, but still retaining the vestiges of its original grandeur.

INTEGRATION COMING

I believe that we Americans will make this assertion in our own way, the American way: in the grand line of over three hundred years' tradition and experience. This is emphatically not the un-American and un-Catholic way of racial segregation—a social policy which solves nothing and merely feeds back poison into the very organisms that it pretends to heal, but it is the democratic way that integrates individuals and families as responsible human beings into our growing communities.

In point of fact, we have learned certain lessons which the entire world needs today, especially in view of the enormous changes that are occurring in the relative positions of the races in the former colonial regions. These are

lessons of practical methods and social techniques; they are also much more vital lessons of spiritual attitudes and spiritual wisdom. Why should we Americans keep these to ourselves? The time is near when we shall no longer need to apologize for our own shortcomings. The very fact that we have learned certain lessons the hard way enables us to speak with more authority to those who have not grappled with the question as we have here in the United States.

Every day brings new evidence that a movement has already set in toward the complete integration of all racial groups into our American life. This is a movement of logic and reason, of religious faith and grace. Indeed, much that I have just written may seem after a few years to be merely laboring the obvious. Nevertheless, the movement can be delayed, and many evil consequences can ensue from delay. Minority groups who yesterday suffered persecution can tomorrow become persecutors themselves; for vice and egotism are contagious, and the poor and humble man who deserts his Creator can become as unjust and mean as his former master.

So I still do not see this as an easy task. It calls for study, research, patience and a vast expenditure of honest good will and sincere love of God and man. Ultimately, it must be worked out from within, for out of the heart proceed evil thoughts and passions. Men must learn to know intimately the mind and spirit of Jesus Christ and those emphases that He placed upon the key factors in human relations. They must make this knowledge their own and acknowledge their dependence upon His grace: must meditate in silence, form their own characters, master the grammar of personal responsibility, and become leaders not in the cause of self-interest but in the cause of justice and charity.

² Albert S. Foley, S.J., *America*, June 13, 1953; reprinted in *Interracial Review*, July, 1953.

Budgets and Taxes

FRANCIS J. CORRIGAN

OUR government, faced with rising costs and a growing family of responsibilities, is not unlike today's harassed breadwinner. The job of paying for the army, navy, air force, tanks and atom bombs, building up the defenses of the free world and carrying on all the taken-for-granted activities is staggering. The government, like a harried father, is wondering where the money will come from.

Making ends meet is an urgent problem because the budget for the 1955 fiscal year must be presented early in January, and tax cuts that will sharply reduce revenue are in the offing. Our present budget (for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1954) will zoom to the neighborhood of \$72 billion. And estimated revenue to meet it is fixed at about \$68 billion.

MORE DEFICITS LIKELY

Congress has already approved legislation to remove the excess-profits tax in January, 1954. At the same time personal-income taxes are to fall an average of ten per cent (actually more on incomes between \$5,000 and \$50,000; less for lower and higher incomes). In April, 1954, corporation taxes are to be lowered from 52 to 47 per cent, and certain excises, increased in 1951, will be reduced. Unless Congress changes some of these scheduled decreases (and in an election year!), the government stands to lose about \$8 billion (without any decline in business volume):

(Revenue loss in billions of dollars)	
End of excess profits tax	\$2
Cut in individual-income tax	3
Cut in corporate-income tax	2
Reduction in excises	1
	\$8

The administration seems already to have reconciled itself to at least another year of deficit financing, but with declining revenues the gap will widen unless some measures are taken. Two proposals have been a general federal sales tax and a general manufacturing excise tax. The President seems to have ruled out the former, but the door is open for the latter.

This is an excise imposed upon goods at the level of manufacture. It's nothing new—after the Revolution customs and excises

were the main source of government revenue. Income tax, except for the period of the Civil War, was non-existent until 1913. At present excises hit a good number of manufactured goods.¹ There are others, of course, at the retail level—plus retail sales taxes in 31 states and the District of Columbia.

The National Association of Manufacturers has proposed a flat tax, tentatively set at five per cent, on all manufactured goods except foods. Present excises, except on cigarettes and liquors, would drop to the same level.

The proposal is worth looking at. With world security as the stake the government needs revenue. No one likes to pay taxes, so our job is to seek the least painful and most equitable method of raising funds.

When is a tax "good"? Adam Smith set up his "canons of taxation" back in 1776, and they have been pretty good norms ever since. He said the system should distribute the burden fairly among citizens, should be certain, as convenient as possible and with lowest possible administration costs. It should also be productive of revenue. Today we would also want to weigh its probable effects on employment, consumption and national output.

Taxpaying ability can generally be measured by 1. one's wealth (capital tax), 2. one's current earnings (income tax) or 3. one's spendings (sales tax). When you try to distribute the tax burden evenly, each yard-stick has its disadvantages. But almost all tax authorities agree that the fairest system distributes the burden progressively, i.e., the greater the ability to pay, the greater the tax, proportionately. (Other systems are *regressive*, if taxes are reduced proportionately with larger bases; *proportional*, if percentage of tax is uniform throughout.)

¹ Rates for these taxes vary, with automobiles and parts at from eight to ten per cent, photographic materials at twenty, and such things as matches at two cents to five and a half cents a thousand, and gasoline and lubricants at two to six cents a gallon. See 1953 *Federal Tax Handbook*, Prentice-Hall, New York, p. 30.

NOT GOOD BASE

To secure progressive tax distribution, wealth or income is a better base for taxes than consumer expenditures, which rarely are directly proportioned to income. Savings and expenditures for services would make up a much larger part of upper-bracket expenditures than in incomes under \$5,000, for instance, and many services carry no excise tax.

A manufacturers' excise tax, since it is an across-the-board tax, is not progressive. If the tax is passed on to the consumer, as is most likely, it will be just such a tax on expenditure—not wealth or income—thus inverting the principle of ability to pay. Effectively, it becomes a federal sales tax. Since those in lower income brackets spend proportionately more income for consumption they will pay a larger proportion as tax.

Unlike income tax, sales taxes take no account of either dependents or source of income, so that the consumers who live off wages, or Social Security or savings are treated exactly alike.

While a wealthy family will pay more sales-tax dollars, it pays a smaller percentage of total income than a low-income family—since consumption does not increase in direct proportion as income increases.² Engel's law pointed this out long ago when it was noticed that with income increases a family 1. spends less proportionately on food, 2. the same proportion on rent, heat and light, 3. approximately the same proportion for clothing and 4. an increasing proportion for miscellaneous items. Even if food is exempt, this, apparently, would only mitigate the regressive feature of the sales tax.

PRESENT TAXATION REGRESSIVE

A recent article³ pointed out that while our federal income taxes are admittedly progressive, the combination of all taxes is decidedly regressive.

Moreover, tax pyramiding increases cost to the consumer. As the manufacturer sells his goods, the taxed article moves on to wholesaler, then to retailer and finally to consumer. At each step along the way the tax will be added to the price of the goods and markups will include the amount of the tax. Thus, the manufacturer sells his dollar item for \$1.05 (adding the amount of tax he pays). The wholesaler's

² P. D. Converse, H. W. Huey and R. V. Mitchell, *The Elements of Marketing*, Prentice-Hall, New York, 1952, p. 36.

³ T. R. Martin, "Sales Taxes Are Bad Taxes," *America*, October 31, 1953, p. 122.

markup will bring his price to the neighborhood of \$1.18, instead of \$1.12. The retailer's markup, in turn, will raise the consumer's price to \$1.69 instead of \$1.60.

Note two points. First, the manufacturer's tax costs the consumer a good deal more than five per cent of the cost of manufacture. As the cost is passed on, it is "marked up" and grows notably. Secondly, the increased cost helps nobody; government, consumer, wholesaler, retailer. It simply goes down the drain of costs involved in the complicated process of distribution.

HUGE WASTE EXPECTED

Thus, whenever the government collects five cents in taxes, it will cost the consumer approximately nine cents. And for every billion dollars collected in manufacturer's taxes, the consumer will pay, in addition to that sum, something in the neighborhood of \$800,000,000, chiefly for the privilege of having his tax costs concealed from him.

Obviously not all goods can stand an equal rise in price. Thus, a seven-per-cent increase on cigarettes might do little harm to their sale, but it might kill black-and-white television sets. In the latter cases, manufacturers will simply have to swallow their spleen and the increased cost.

On the other hand, if the manufacturer is not permitted to pass the tax on, it will fall as a levy on a firm's gross receipts—which are a poor norm of ability to make profits or pay taxes. Taxing gross receipts, with no regard to differences in expenses, capital invested, rapidity of turnover, which all vary from industry to industry, firm to firm, is unrealistic.

Moreover, the burden will fall unequally. A tax levied on "end products" will hit non-integrated firms unduly hard. Take the example of two shoe manufacturers. One tans his own leather, completes all processes up to the finished shoe within a single company. The other buys partially processed products (tanned leather, heels, etc.) from other companies. In the first instance, a single tax is paid on the finished product. In the second, taxes would be paid by each company on its "end product." The difference, tax-wise, is considerable and would put the non-integrated firm at a competitive disadvantage. Such a system could notably accelerate the already rapid trend to bigness.

Finally, there is little likelihood that the proposed manufacturer's tax (given the reductions in all present excises, except cigarettes and liquor) would bring in more revenue than the present system.

TRENDS

Report on U. S. Economy

Economic activity in the United States continued high late in the fall, said the latest report of the President's Council of Economic Advisers.

The total output, however, was down slightly from the high in the spring, as government spending fell off and industrial stock accumulation slowed.

Only farm income stood below last year's level, while generally all other income was far above that of last fall.

Consumer prices now are at a new high, after six monthly rises. Since June, 1950, the index of living costs has risen thirteen per cent. Unemployment remained at about the August peacetime low, work hours and wages continued high. Construction dropped, but rose again. Retail sales and general consumer purchasing power remained steady.

Meantime, "economy" slashes by congress have dropped at least 138,000 from the Federal employ. Private manufacturers have been dropping workers since last summer (Nash, 10,000 in Wisconsin; Cadillac, 8,000 in Michigan after the Livonia fire; International Harvester, 10,000 in seventeen plants, and many others). At the same time some plants were taking on more workers, and employment remained fairly high over the country.

How the Family Fares Now

Family income in the U.S. increased from \$3,610 a year in 1944 to \$4,460, before taxes, in 1950. On an annual basis this represents a jump of \$16.35 a week. The total increase of \$850, spread over six years, meant a yearly increase of \$141.66.

Much of the rise, said the Office of Business Economics at the Commerce Department in issuing the comprehensive report, was accounted for by inflation. The 40,880,000 consumer units ("families and unattached individuals") of 1944 had combined earnings of \$148 billion, compared with 1950's 48,590,000 units and the total earnings of \$217 billion.

The percentage of families with income below \$2,000 decreased from thirty per cent to 23 per cent in 1950. The actual numbers

remained almost unchanged, however (12,264,000 and 11,185,700), indicating that the most needy group remains virtually untouched, even by inflationary expansion of incomes. Of course, composition of the group changes considerably each year.

Urban average family income for 1947, the mid-point, was \$4,780, higher than the income of the average farm family by \$1,270. Thus the farm figure in that year was (after three years of general rise) only \$3,510—lower than the general national average of \$3,610 in 1944. Farm income, however, does not include savings through home-grown foodstuffs and fuel.

Guaranteed Wage Drive

Pressure for the guaranteed annual wage has been heading up of late, so much so that the *Wall Street Journal* has advised "labor storm warnings" particularly if the "big C.I.O. unions whoop it up."

Early this month in Washington the Auto Workers committee on full employment discussed the subject. At Cleveland the C.I.O. tackled it late in November. The Steel Workers met in mid-October in New York to study the proposal. In early October the Electrical Union advocated guaranteed wages at its Montreal convention. The auto workers drew up a plan last March.

A.F.L. leaders are watching for results.

The Steel Workers' plan called for a trust fund set up by the employer at ten cents per manhour. From this fund the worker employed three years or more would receive a certain percentage of his pay for 52 weeks when dropped from the payroll.

Opposition—a pretty good reflector of the earnestness of union proposals—has also been growing more vocal. Karlton W. Pierce, Ford industrial relations spokesman, has been quoted: "The employer takes all the risks in the economy and the employee takes none." U. S. Steel's "labor vice-president," John A. Stephens, thought the plan was not feasible. At General Electric Ralph Cordner said, "We can't guarantee wages any more than the workers can guarantee us customers."

The U.S. Chamber of Commerce lately issued a 34-page booklet attacking the G.A.W.

Unionists' Civil Liberties

How to protect civil rights of union members against unfair action by a union and its officers has long disturbed genuine friends of the labor movement. The problem occurs in its most perplexing form when a local union fines, suspends or expels a member for alleged violation of the union's constitution or by-laws.

Most unions permit the disciplined member to appeal to the international's general executive board and to its annual convention. But friendly critics and observers know that this procedure often is inadequate to insure justice. Both the trial and appeal procedure are closely interlocked with the political structure of local and international. Doubt has been expressed that top officers will always show courage in modifying or reversing the verdicts of local unions to whom they look for political support.

The Upholsterers' International Union in its last convention met this problem squarely and in a wholly unprecedented fashion. It amended its constitution to create an appeals board composed wholly "of impartial persons of good repute not having membership or any other direct interest in the Upholsterers' International Union or its affairs." Members disciplined by the local or the international may now, after appeal to the union's executive board, address a further appeal to the new appeals board or to the annual convention. The decision of this impartial appeals board is binding upon the union, not, however, upon the disciplined member. If the appeals board should sustain the original verdict, the member may address a final appeal to the annual convention.

The quality of the men whom the Upholsterers' Union has invited to serve on its appeals board indicates that the union is genuinely determined to secure courageous, impartial and fair verdicts. Among those who have been invited are Federal Judge John Biggs, Jr.; Paul Herzog, former chairman of the National Labor Relations Board; Archibald Cox, Harvard professor of law; and Reverend Leo C. Brown, S.J., director of I.S.O.

Mr. Sal Hoffman, Upholsterers' president, said two personal experiences prompted him to support this new amendment. "Back in the 30's, I, as a local officer, was investigated by the international president on charges I never saw, on testimony from witnesses I never saw or heard and was barred from the union office for a period of time on the basis of a finding I was never permitted to read. When, some

stormy years later, I was elected international president, I set out to make my experience impossible of repetition by someone else at my hand.

"My second memory is of more recent date. Several years ago I was prosecuting a local union business agent in a midwestern city for signing a false pledge of office in the union by declaring and promising that he was not a communist. I knew from personal knowledge that he was guilty, and our evidence was so complete and so carefully prepared he finally admitted it.

"However, as the trial went on I thought how easy it would be for me, with the power and prestige of union office, before a trial board of union men to win my case even if I had been doubtful of the guilt of the man on trial, and if I had been persuaded by personal dislike or organizational politics. I determined to provide against such temptation in myself or in anyone else in a similar position of power. The appeals board which we have now created is the result. It is not perfect, but it is the best device we could think of to insure fair union verdicts which are free from danger of unfairness by the union, which is often prosecutor, judge and jury at the same time."

Family Allowance League

A group of public-spirited leaders in New York City have established a Family Allowance League to promote the establishment of a family allowance system in the United States. The League is an outgrowth of a Family Allowance Committee organized some months ago by the New York chapter of the Association of Catholic Trade Unionists. President of the newly-established League is James J. Morris; Mr. Robert E. Delany, a New York attorney and long an advocate of American family allowances, is legal adviser of the new organization.

Membership in the League is open to workers in social service fields and others interested in the improvement of family welfare through improvement of family income. At present the organization is distributing copies of *Family Allowances: U. S. Plan*, by Rev. Francis J. Corley, S.J., editor of SOCIAL ORDER. Plans are under way to begin issuing a League Newsletter to members. There are no dues, but members are requested to make an annual contribution to cover necessary expenses. Further information can be obtained from the Family Allowance League, P.O. Box 395, Grand Central Station, New York 17.

BOOKS

POLITICS, ECONOMICS AND WELFARE.—By Robert A. Dahl and Charles E. Lindblom. Harper, New York, 1953, 557 pp. \$5.00.

A situation of no little concern to educators—to all society, in fact—is the ever-increasing trend to specialization among scholars. This is true not only between disciplines, but within them as well. Economists and political scientists long ago ceased talking the same language; today a group of economists has difficulty in "talking shop," so specialized has research and scholarship become.

This book is an ambitious and a promising attempt to correct this condition. The authors, one an economist and the other a political scientist, collaborated in conducting an interdepartmental seminar at Yale, from which this volume of joint research, thought and discussion has come. Their attempt to integrate economics and political science led them to incorporate valuable and interesting material from sociology, anthropology and psychology.

Particularly important is their concentration upon an analysis of the problem of leadership, an area hitherto largely neglected by economists. Their erudite and exhaustive analysis includes such diverse yet complementary sociopolitical processes as the price system, the control of and by leaders, hierarchy, bureaucracy and bargaining.

Inevitably a discussion of this scope will transcend description and analysis to enter the realm of philosophy. It is difficult to understand how one can appraise or even discuss values without *ipso facto* discussing ethics. But the authors, in an effort to be "scientific," insist upon avoiding ethical discussion. At least they shun attempts to demonstrate the ultimate "rightness" of the values which they use as criteria of appraisal. However, in an analysis of this nature it is impossible to avoid ethics; even with the semantic device of speaking of "goals" rather than of "values." Similarly they assiduously dodge epistemological questions.

The authors seem to be preoccupied with that definition of science which stresses the element of prediction. (p. 18) Implicit in their assumptions is that ethics is not "scientific." This is a vital weakness of the book; without a proper ap-

preciation of the philosophical bases of human nature the treatment will stay on the surface, concerning itself largely with techniques and "goals." Unfortunately this slavery to the concept of "prediction" in the definition of science is a common one. It is high time that social scientists reexamine their definitions.

JOHN T. CROTEAU
University of Notre Dame

DISORGANIZATION: Personal and Social.—By Herbert A. Bloch. Alfred A. Knopf, New York, 1952, xv, 608 pp. \$5.00.

The study of social disorganization has always been one of the major concerns of sociologists. In the academic sphere the student is generally introduced to it under the title of "social problems." This is a core course which all sociology students must take and it is possible that this early orientation toward the pathological in society accounts for some of the attitudes of the students and of the general public in regard to the science of sociology. There is a tendency to look upon sociology as the science which studies the failures of society rather than its normal functioning. In the popular mind there is a tendency to identify sociology with social work, a confusion which is accepted as flattery by the devotees of neither discipline.

Although Professor Bloch makes a great deal of the instability of contemporary social institutions, his attempt to construct a theory of social and personal disorganization before treating of specific social problems is a step in the right direction. He points out that social change is a constant factor in all societies. This calls for continuous adjustment and adaptation. Since society is an integral whole, change in any one sector involves change in many others. Trouble arises when these changes do not take place uniformly or when they bring to the fore hitherto unnoticed contradictions in the social structure.

The author's theory of personality development is eclectic, although he follows the general trend of stressing cultural determinants. The inability of contemporary social psychologists to deal with the function of the intellect is reflected here. This approach forces them to "muddle" around

in the peripheries of the problem which they are investigating.

This text is so organized that it can be used as a straight "social problems" text by concentrating on the material in Part Two. However, as we have indicated, it seems highly inadvisable to eliminate all theoretical considerations even in an introductory "social problems" course so that the present organization of the text seems much to be preferred, though the instructor may choose to eliminate some of Part One.

JOHN L. THOMAS, S.J.
Institute of Social Order

MAN AGAINST MASS SOCIETY.—
By Gabriel Marcel. Foreword by Professor Donald Mackinnon. Regnery, Chicago, 1952, 205 pp. \$4.50.

Kierkegaard called man in industrial society a cipher man or a fractional man, thus emphasizing the fact that modern life holds insufficient respect for him as an individual with his own dignity, his own potentialities and his own aspirations. In fact, James Collins in *The Existentialists* lists "individual versus the crowd" as the first of Kierkegaard's major protests. And so it is only a variation of what is fundamentally an old existentialist theme that Gabriel Marcel is playing in his book *Les Hommes contre l'Humain* (Paris, 1951) of which *Man against Mass Society* is a translation.

In this book Marcel, one of the existentialist philosophers "on the side of the angels," discusses some problems confronting modern man in his complex societies, of which, sometimes at least, he is only involuntarily a member. At the same time Marcel carries on his running battle with "the spirit of abstraction." His approach is, according to some critics, strictly infra-metaphysical and he himself characterizes his philosophy as that of "a man in a situation." It is, then, appropriate that he should try to put his philosophy to work on current socio-politico-moral problems—for instance, man's difficulties in maintaining his freedom, his degradation in concentration and slave-labor camps, his sometimes fanaticized consciousness, his technical progress and his sin, etc.

Admittedly very much impressed by George Orwell's *1984*, M. Marcel is hypnotized by the horrendous crisis human civilization is now undergoing or may undergo shortly. Diffuse in style and manifestly wrestling with his thoughts every word of the way, M. Marcel is not interested in providing a book of lightly philosophical essays for casual reading. His

philosophy is a *neo-Socratism* with all the humility and obscurity that the term implies. As Professor Mackinnon in the foreword honestly warns, "He invites his readers to enter into his conversation with himself, and if they are not prepared to bear the strain of its development, they had best not read him at all."

EARL A. WEIS, S.J.
Weston College

STRIKES: A STUDY IN INDUSTRIAL CONFLICT.—By K. G. J. C. Knowles. Philosophical Library, New York, 1952, 330 pp. \$8.75.

This book is meant to give a comprehensive view of the strike phenomenon "in its wider economic and social setting, and thus to clear the air of narrow, oversimplified preconceptions." (xi) While chiefly concerned with British developments it also contains much reference to conditions in the United States and occasionally to other countries.

The first part treats of the "background" of strikes; influences of trade union developments and of employers' associations, collective bargaining methods and machinery, legal and extra-legal controls on strikes in peace and war. In the second part the "causes and effects" of strikes are investigated, largely in terms of statistics and graphs inquiring into relations between strikes to various indices of the business cycle, to trade union membership, distribution of strikes among various industries and regions.

A more general conclusion which the author points out initially (p. xi) is that under the influence of tightening trade-union discipline, strikes have tended to diminish both in size and length. This conclusion seems at variance with the one reached in a recent investigation of strike trends in five representative countries—inclusive of Great Britain—according to which the magnitude of strikes is increasing, while the average duration of strike idleness per striking worker is diminishing. ["Strike Experience in Five Countries, 1927-1947," by Arthur M. Ross and Donald Irwin, *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 4 (1951) 323-342; also "Some Comments on 'Strike Experience in Five Countries,'" *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, 6 (April, 1953) 391-398.] The discrepancy is due to the different measure of the "magnitude" of strikes employed by the investigators. Whereas the American authors used the percentage of the working force partici-

pating in strikes in a given year as a measure of magnitude, the British author used the ratio of workers involved to the total number of strikes (a measure which does not reflect the total number of workers on strike and which is moreover unduly sensitive to the great number of very small-scale and hence economically insignificant strikes).

While doubtless of more interest to British than American readers, the book is very useful in impartially directing attention to the many facets of the strike problem, as well as in its many valuable references and abundance of interesting quotations from widely varied sources. The book contains eighteen graphs, a special statistical appendix with many tables and an 8-page index.

JOHN V. SPIELMANS
Marquette University

PATHS OF LONELINESS.—By Margaret Mary Wood. Columbia University Press, New York, 1953, x, 239 pp. \$3.75.

In this fresh approach to the problem of loneliness, Margaret Mary Wood, author of *The Stranger* and *Marriage and Family Living*, not only considers this subject in its psychological aspects of one induced by personality inadequacies, but also adds her own personal observations and experiences as well as the relevant data culled from recent findings in the allied fields of sociology and anthropology. Evaluating the findings she concludes that loneliness results not so much from a rejection of an individual by an outgroup as by his rejection by his own group, inasmuch as the accent in our present day society is on aloneness.

Her objectives are to help the lonely individual understand his problem, to point out that such loneliness is a characteristic of the day and to illustrate successful ways in which both the individual and society can face up to the solution of this difficulty.

In the first of the book's two divisions the author discusses such potentially isolating social processes as: urbanization, specialization, competition, individuation and segregation. In the second section she analyzes the lonely individual's reactions to the isolating process in such ways as wandering, egotism, authoritarianism and drug-addiction.

Interestingly written, scientifically authenticated, this volume focuses a problem

which merits attention and holds implications which could well invite further research.

SISTER LORETTA MARIA SHEEHY, S.C.
College of Saint Elizabeth

WAGE DETERMINATION UNDER NATIONAL BOARDS.—By Abraham L. Gitlow. Prentice-Hall, New York, 1953, viii, 248 pp. \$5.35.

If one were not aware that Mr. Gitlow is a disciple of the Jules Backman school of thought on wage determination, this study makes that fact abundantly clear. Mr. Backman has gained fame (or notoriety, depending on one's point of view) primarily through his replies to the C.I.O. Nathan wage reports, and Mr. Gitlow has borrowed extensively from this material for his theoretical analysis of wage criteria. Fortunately, however, theory occupies less than one-third of the book, serving merely to introduce the real contribution.

Here we have compiled for the first time (based on available government sources) a readable, well-documented discussion of United States experience with wage-fixing agencies. Wage criteria used by War Labor Boards during two world wars, by the Wage Stabilization Board during the Korean conflict and by Railway Boards and various fact-finding panels are explained and evaluated in an attempt to determine which are most important in actual practice.

In wage arbitration, as well as in labor economics, five criteria have generally been accepted as valid in wage determination—productivity, ability to pay, comparative wages, cost of living and minimum budgets. Mr. Gitlow explains the serious problems of definition and measurement involved in applying these criteria to any particular wage dispute. His description of the organization, structure and functioning of the agencies emphasizes the importance of political as well as economic considerations in arriving at a decision. Although cost of living and ability to pay may set the economic limits, experience shows that comparative wages weighs most heavily in the final determination.

This conclusion should come as no surprise to anyone who has arbitrated a wage issue. Comparative wages, of all the criteria, presents the arbitrator with tangible, specific data upon which to base his award. This criterion also permits application of the principal of equal-pay-

for-equal-work, which has come to be accepted as a just standard by the parties themselves.

This book will be of value to anyone involved in wage negotiation or arbitration. It points up the problems which necessarily result from any attempt to take from the parties their right to self-determination through collective bargaining. Only periods of extreme national emergency can ever justify wage fixing by government fiat in a private-enterprise economy.

Gladys W. Gruenberg
St. Louis University

BENTHAM AND THE ETHICS OF TODAY: With Bentham Manuscripts Hitherto Unpublished.—By David Baumgardt. Princeton University Press, Princeton, New Jersey, 1952, xiv, 584 pp. \$9.00.

The connotations of the term "hedonism," which characterizes the ethics of Jeremy Bentham, have, like those of the term "Epicurean," tended to obscure the objective content of the doctrine which it labels. Moreover, much of Bentham's work was not published till long after his death, and there is still some to be published. Hence the need for a new study and possibly a new evaluation of Bentham's work. The author of this study concludes that Bentham has a good deal to offer the ethics of today.

For "modern ethics" is divided pretty largely into two schools: naturalist and positivist. The naturalists hold in common that, for one reason or another, man's nature requires certain acts to be performed and others to be avoided. And thus they fall into the "naturalistic fallacy," which is essentially a tautology: "what must be done is what must be done."

That leaves some form of positivism; in particular for Mr. Baumgardt, consistent hedonism.

His problem is to find some hypothesis which will account for the conditions of the "ought" in human life. He finds that Bentham's contribution to modern ethics is not so much that he adopted and insisted upon the utility principle ("The greatest pleasure for the greatest number"), but that he was the first to show how the utility principle can be developed as a scientific hypothesis.

The unpublished writings of Bentham printed in the Appendices do not add a great deal to the traditional interpretation of Bentham, and it takes Mr. Baumgardt

to make explicit the theory of the utility principle as a scientific hypothesis.

In adopting and developing Bentham's hedonism, Baumgardt never adverts to the scholastic tradition. And in reading their common criticism of "natural law," it must be kept in mind that what Bentham and Baumgardt are attacking is not the traditional scholastic natural law, but the rationalist theory of Grotius as applied by one of its weaker theoretical exponents, Blackstone.

It is a serious shortcoming of the book that Mr. Baumgardt, who has written a great deal on the history of ethics, does not realize that the history of natural law has been in reality the history of the concept of nature. He disclaims all scientific connection between nature and morality, but the logical reason he does so is that for him "nature" is simply a mental hypothesis which can be verified by a certain correspondence with empirical data. As his metaphysics is a descriptive ontology, so his ethics is a descriptive deontology.

Readers interested in the ethics of modern social thinkers will probably find better books for their purpose. Philosophers who wish to see a contemporary thinker at work will find a good example in Mr. Baumgardt's *Bentham*.

L. E. Endres, S.J.
St. Mary's College

RIGHT AND REASON: Ethics in Theory and Practice.—By Austin Fagothey, S.J. The C. V. Mosby Company, St. Louis, 1953, 583 pp. \$5.75.

The basic contribution of Scholastic ethics textbooks in the Cathrein-Cronin tradition lies in their defense of natural rights and duties in answer to relativists and positivists. *Right and Reason*, which follows closely the familiar order of Cathrein, Cox, Sullivan, Macksey and Bittle, surpasses them in readability, in format and in its thorough bibliography.

The book is up-to-date and competent, especially in its concluding chapters on war, international organization and sovereignty. We read, for example, "What right have we to make national sovereignty into such a fetish that we must wreck the world to preserve it? Sovereignty is but a means to an end, the common good..." (p. 542)

One wonders why the effort to organize on the international level should be so well presented when so little is said on the reorganization of such institutions as industrial and familial society. The socio-economic problem is not described; common

good and social justice are two concepts that go undefined. In outlining justice, social justice should find place as that virtue which obliges individuals and groups to organize or to revivify moribund institutions, as Ferree has shown in *The Act of Social Justice*, which is mentioned in a bibliography.

The author analyzes and evaluates the two basic solutions to the social question, socialized and private ownership. But could those chapters, as they are read by students, create a false impression, thus: "Socialism and Communism are disastrous solutions, *individual* ownership is the only other solution; therefore it is ideal and perfect?" We could be training new economic individualists by this method, and perhaps we are. The textbook, which is otherwise so excellent, must also stress the *social* as well as the individual aspect of private property. Messner's *Social Ethics*, pp. 785-811, is by far the best for this, as a development of the social encyclicals. Moreover, a book which is strictly philosophical could still legitimately refer to and quote the Papal encyclicals as prominent documents, prescinding from their ecclesiastical authority.

I would like to see a readable book such as this, without becoming a work in sociology, list and evaluate some debatable positive proposals for solving facets of the social question—for instance, nationalization of basic industries, industry councils, occupational groups, cooperatives, credit unions, family allowances, pre-divorce consultations, Cana Conferences, health insurance, legal aid societies in poor districts, federal housing and rent controls. Ward's *Christian Ethics*, which appeared after Fr. Fagothey's book, shows how such topics and others can be presented in order to whet the students' interest, stir up social effort and create social consciousness in a continuing free-enterprise environment.

FRANCIS V. COURNEEN, S.J.
Fordham University

REASON AND ANTI-REASON IN OUR TIME.—By Karl Jaspers. Yale University Press, New Haven, 1952, 96 pp. \$2.00.

Dr. Jaspers, professor of philosophy at Basle and one of the Existentialist "Big Four," boldly defends the rights of reason against "the magic of anti-reason." He forcefully demands science, which depends on reason, as "the condition of all true philosophy."

This eminent writer exposes Marxism as an unsound philosophy because it is

built on an unscientific preconceived theory of history. Likewise, he indicts Freudian psychoanalysis as unscientific because it confuses the possibility of merely understanding what a disease is with the rational knowledge of its total cause. This would require scientific method, not a totalitarian approach "marked by universal scepticism and readiness to accept any possible interpretation."

BERNARD M. SCULLY, S.J.
Weston College

MODERN SCIENCE AND MODERN MAN.—By James B. Conant. Columbia University Press, New York, 1952, 111 pp. \$2.25.

CHRISTIAN FAITH AND THE SCIENTIFIC ATTITUDE.—By W. A. Whitehouse. Philosophical Library, New York, 1953, 147 pp. \$3.75.

Dr. Conant tries to find the "minimal commitments" for modern man's life. He curiously dismisses as unworthy of consideration the views of both the theologian and the materialist and submits his alternative: a theory to be based on each man's personal experience.

"The postulation of a sharp cleavage between animal behavior and human conduct seems essential in order to give meaning to the ideas expressed in terms of any system of spiritual evaluation . . . As a minimum the possibility may exist that our intentions and our overt actions have a relation to some large pattern of events." (p. 109. Emphasis added)

Dr. Conant cannot see science as of any help to man in his search for these "minimal commitments." In this book "time does not permit" a review of the neo-Thomistic approach to the inter-relationship of spiritual values and scientific inquiry. To the author the world is "essentially inexplicable."

The Reverend Mr. Whitehouse also attempts to bring modern man, impressed by science, to a world view. Unfortunately, however, he is one with Dr. Conant in refusing the value of natural theology as an approach.

His alternative is a "self-authenticating Gospel" which must be accepted by a blind act of faith without any rational examination. It is a pity that this former scientist cannot offer a more reasonable basis to the essentially hungry minds of sceptical scientists.

BERNARD SCULLY, S.J.
Weston College

MIND, A SOCIAL PHENOMENON.—
By F. S. A. Doran. William Sloane
Associates, New York, 1953, 182 pp.
\$3.00.

This book is got up very attractively, even including the blurb. It is clearly printed and its almost complete lack of typographical errors attests to the care of its editing. The only one noticed was "Jesuits Order" instead of "Jesuit Order." Its bibliography is impressive, and a serviceable index is appended. Citations from other books are frequent, with the loci almost invariably listed at the bottom of the page for those who care to check or investigate more deeply.

However, I would say that almost the only excuse for buying this book is that otherwise the money would go for taxes. It might also be got to have at hand a telling illustration of the difference between the appurtenances of scholarship and the power of thought. It possesses the former, excellently; it lacks the latter, woefully.

The intent of the book is to reject dualism and to explain all by brain function. Since the author has a degree in medicine and holds the post of clinical demonstrator in anatomy at the University of Manchester, we expect to be initiated into the results of his research. We are, but the research, as far as the evidence of the book goes, was all done in libraries and appears in the numerous footnotes.

A dualist will take up this book with the expectation of having his convictions challenged. In this he will be sadly disappointed, for it will test him not a whit. The author thinks of the mind or soul, whose existence he impugns, as a "spiritual, independent force of divine origin," something "semi-divine and mystical" in character. Such a soul, he asserts, would not be forced to derive its ideas through sensory experience, it would not be dependent on its cultural milieu, it could not err, it would not have to fight its way laboriously, by way of hypothesis and theory, to newer and larger vistas. This might be true of the Platonic soul, with its wealth of innate ideas. Defensible dualism, however, holds with Aristotle that the soul in the beginning is a "tabula rasa," that there is nothing in the intellect which was not, somehow or other, in the senses. Thus the author's patient and somewhat tiresome effort to prove the mind's dependence on experience in the origin of its ideas is so much lost motion. Once this dependence is admitted, an argument could begin. Dr. Doran fondly thinks that his revelation of this evident dependence has brought all argument to an end. Therefore the physical

brain explains all. One either sees or does not see that a conclusion follows from the premises. Perhaps this power dulls through the advocacy of materialism.

REGINALD R. LEFEBVRE, S.J.
West Baden College

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STATISTICAL YEARBOOK, 1952.—Prepared by the Statistical Office of the United Nations, Department of Economic Affairs. Distributed by Columbia University Press, New York, 1952, 554 pp. \$6.00, paper; \$7.50, cloth.

Comparatively few changes have been made in the fourth annual publication of the U.N. *Statistical Yearbook*. Six tables have been dropped from the 1951 list: crude marriage rates (which is available in the *U.N. Demographic Yearbook*), life expectancy, land use, production data on roundwood and lumber and net geographical production by industrial origin. Appendix II, which listed the principal statistical series of international organizations, has been omitted pending revision.

Five tables have been added: basic data on mining, cotton and wool spindles and looms, steel consumption and gross national expenditure. Eight other tables have been modified.

While there continue to be numerous important lacunae in many series—and many of these can never be filled in—the slow improvement of national statistical services of each government and the changes in presentation make the Yearbook increasingly useful. The comparatively complete reporting of statistical information for recent post-war years by many smaller countries is itself a testimonial to the contribution to statistical knowledge which the very existence of this work makes.

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YEARBOOK ON HUMAN RIGHTS FOR 1950.—Prepared by the Human Rights Division of the United Nations Secretariat. Distributed by Columbia University Press, New York, 1952, xvi, 596 pp. \$6.50.

This fifth annual volume is the most comprehensive yet produced by the Human Rights division of the U.N. Secretariat. In addition to the types of action formerly included (constitutional and legislative changes, as well as treaties and agreements), the present volume presents decisions of national and international courts, together with statutes pertaining

to Trust and Non-Self-Governing Territories.

The *Yearbook* has four parts: 1. States—statutes, constitutional changes, court decisions; 2. Trusts and Non-Self-Governing Territories—laws and other human-rights texts; 3. International Treaties and Agreements adopted by Inter-governmental organizations; 4. U.N. and human rights.

Developments in the field of human rights during 1950 are reported from 71 states, of which 53 are members of the United Nations. The largest portion of the work is devoted to material reported by sovereign states.

There are indexes of constitutional provisions, of judicial decisions and a five-year cumulative index of laws, decrees and regulations.

THE WORLD OF HUMANISM, 1453-1517.—By Myron P. Gilmore. Harper, New York, 1952, xv, 326 pp. \$5.00.

This latest volume in the "Rise of Modern Europe" series follows the general pattern of its predecessors: political, social, cultural and other human developments are examined from the European point of view through a given period of time; stress is on institutional and social history rather than political; an extensive critical bibliography and a well selected set of contemporary illustrations are included.

Historians have offered many explanations of this period known as "The Renaissance." Whether it is a modern or a medieval period, whether it is pagan or Christian in its orientation, whether the classical revival played a decisive role in shaping events have all been matters of dispute. Professor Gilmore follows the more recent trend in history writing by refusing to reduce the age of humanism to any single formula. He explains it in terms of interplay between the old and the new, between the medieval heritage and a modern attitude toward man and God. No single person or institution is found to be exclusively modern—not even Da Vinci or Machiavelli.

Specialists in the period will find little new information in this book, but because of its sound interpretations they cannot ignore it. Others will appreciate *The World of Humanism* for the rounded picture it presents of this interesting age in European history.

THOMAS P. NEILL
St. Louis University

DECEMBER, 1953

THE CATHOLIC CHURCH AND RACE RELATIONS.—By Paul J. Hayes and Edward J. Hayes. America Press, New York, 1953, 24 pp. 15c.

This booklet by two priests of the archdiocese of Newark aims at making Catholics more conscious of racial intolerance. It opens with a short consideration of the Church's teaching of the brotherhood of all men, then focuses on the need for fortitude and prudence and warns that Christ has foretold that He will judge each soul on its *practice* of social justice, not on its mere avoidance of injustice. Next (in its longest section) it points out the teaching as shown in the Mass, the names of saints in the canon, the wording of certain prayers, the objective of the action and so on. The last part lists nine practical suggestions for action.

RAYMOND BERNARD, S.J.

AGRICULTURAL POLICY OF THE UNITED STATES.—By Harold Halcrow. Prentice-Hall, New York, 1953, 458 pp. \$7.35.

This book, a product of the minds of many experts in the field of American agricultural policy, is best adapted to a select group of readers: those who like to read diligently, who like to refer to numerous figures, graphs and other statistical information, to delve into advanced analysis.

The subject matter is broad in scope for it includes many phases of agricultural policy, namely, agricultural price policy, analyses of price support programs, soil conservation, crop insurance, aid to low income farmers and farmers' tax problems.

Throughout, the discourse is analytical in form and emphasizes how economic analysis can be used to appraise the general farm program, how agricultural policy can be directed to the improvement of society as a whole as well as the farm people themselves. Because of its wide scope the book is not only directed to readers who are farmers, but to all who benefit either directly or indirectly from the successes of the American farmer. Moreover, the book is invaluable to all who influence the agricultural policy.

Each chapter contains explanatory footnotes, numerous references, graphs and tables, all arranged in timely order. At the end of the chapters are questions and exercises, aids to general discussion or

further study. The book closes with a comment on the problem of coordinating the various parts of the program.

JOHN W. CONOYER
St. Louis University

YEARBOOK OF FOOD AND AGRICULTURAL STATISTICS. — Prepared by the Statistics Branch of the U. N. Food and Agriculture Organization. Vol. VI, Part 1, Production; Part 2, Trade. Distributed by Columbia University Press, New York, 1953, 319 and 290 pp. Each part, \$3.50.

Since 1946 the U. N. Food and Agriculture Organization has continued and added to the statistical series begun by the International Institute of Agriculture.

Part 1 contains eight sections: land, population, crops, livestock, food supply, means of production, prices, index numbers. Part 2 has eleven sections: value of trade, cereals, sugar, potatoes, etc., fruit, oilseeds, vegetable oils, beverages and spices, alcoholic beverages and tobacco, fibers and rubber, livestock. The two volumes, together with the F.A.O. Forestry and Fisheries Yearbooks, undertake to give as comprehensive a picture of world food and agriculture as possible.

Inevitably such comprehensive collections of statistical data have gaps and inaccuracies. But painstaking effort has been made to gather information from official sources and to supplement with unofficial information wherever possible. Coverage is improved in Vol. VI by the inclusion of new data from countries not hitherto reported. New tables are: Part 1, irrigated land, secondary meat products, animal fats; Part 2, trade in rye, barley, oats, maize, coffee, pork fats, tallow, other animal fats, two fiber tables (abaca and sisal). A new chapter has been added in Part 2 to present the value of agricultural trade.

The table on land use, dropped from the *U. N. Statistical Yearbook, 1952*, is available in Part 1 of this work.

MINERALS, KEY TO SOVIET POWER.—By Demetri B. Shimkin. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, 1953, 452 pp. \$8.00.

Minerals like iron, copper and bauxite have a great impact on the internal and external life of a materialistic nation such as Soviet Russia. Mineralogical data are easier to assemble and to interpret than

are most manufacturing statistics. On these two premises Prof. Shimkin has built an important contribution to an understanding of Russian power.

In general, Russia's mineral reserves are very large—enough ferrous metals, non-metallics and fuel for at least twenty years of peace. Non-ferrous metals, tungsten and industrial diamonds are in negligible supply at present. Actual *production* of metals, however, has failed to supply the ambitious Soviet goals.

The result has been a rationing of metals in housing, agriculture and transportation, with a priority for heavy industry. Increased demands for the Soviet's war machine and arming of her satellites force Russia to become a metal-importing nation.

The author honestly points out the unreliability of much of his data. The book richly fulfills the ideal of a "useful guide to the economy, technology and policies of the Soviet Union."

BERNARD SCULLY, S.J.
Weston College

PHILOSOPHY OF MAHATMA GANDHI.—By Dharendra Mohan Datta. University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1953, 155 pp. \$2.50.

Former disciple in Ghandhi's Bombay *ashrama* and worker in village reconstruction, Dr. Datta as professor of philosophy at the University of Patna gives special attention to the synthesis of Gandhian thought. The material presented in this attractive book was given in lectures at the University of Wisconsin.

The author attempts to classify various statements by Gandhi in two broad categories, "God, World and Man" and "Morals, Society and Politics," in what he calls the first systematic, concise presentation of Gandhi's thinking. It is bound to be too short, somewhat tantalizing and colored by the views of the analyst. (Sometimes it is hard to see the line between Gandhi and Datta, forcing the reader to question some interpretations.)

At heart Gandhi was a believer in a Personal Absolute, opposed to fatalism, a constant seeker after Truth who lived out the observance of the five vows of love, truthfulness, justice, poverty, continence and fearlessness.

Datta emphasizes the high value Gandhi placed on moral education and the danger he saw in non-moral training. "[His] social and political experiments are all based on the recognition of the moral foundation of human nature and human society. Hu-

man progress can be assured only if the life of the individual, society, country and world as a whole be more and more based on the fundamental moral virtues of truthfulness, nonviolence, nonstealing, self-control and nonpossession." Nothing else will do for Gandhi, who in his distrust of "one-sided stress on economic ideals" wrote, "That economics is untrue which ignores or disregards moral values."

It is a curious thing that, although as Father Clump said recently (p. 355), Gandhi was not an "economist," and as Datta shows in this book, Gandhi was not a "philosopher," it was in their two fields that he wielded so strong an influence over millions of men.

RAYMOND BERNARD, S.J.

GANDHIAN ECONOMIC THOUGHT.

—By J. C. Kumarappa. Vora, Bombay, 1951, 72 pp. Rs. 1-4.

This little volume is the latest addition to the Library of Indian Economics, edited by C. N. Vakil, director of the School of Economics and Sociology, University of Bombay. The purpose of the series is to enable "the average citizen to take active interest in economic policy and in measures which affect economic life in the country."

Mr. J. C. Kumarappa, who had been entrusted by Gandhi to implement his economic philosophy, has been head of village rehabilitation work for over a decade. As such, he has wrestled with the significance of Gandhi's thinking on economic problems. All of Gandhi's thinking, whether in the field of economics or sociology, in politics or art, religion or education, is ultimately derived from the twin principles, *satya* (truth) and *ahimsa* (nonviolence: love).

The present book is more an elaboration of Kumarappa's own thinking on economic matters than a scholarly statement of Gandhi's economic theories. That task, namely, a discussion of the premises and conclusions of Gandhian Economics, has been attempted by the present writer in his latest book, *Mahatma Gandhi: Peaceful Revolutionary*. [See the review in SOCIAL ORDER, October, 1953, p. 323, Ed.]

Kumarappa speaks of five possible types of economy: 1. parasitic, the tiger killing its prey; 2. predatory, monkeys looting fruit and grain; 3. enterprising, with a balance between rights and duties; 4. gregarious, the bees depositing honey in the hive, really "collectivist"; 5. service

economy, as symbolized by a mother's love for and duty to the young one.

Kumarappa argues for decentralization and for small self-sufficient communities as the ideal to be achieved. Cautiously endorsing industrialism, "like poison under control and in the hands of specialists," he recommends a retreat from the industrial urban complex. His ideal social organization would produce "all that is necessary with the cooperation of the people around for their primary needs, viz., food, clothing, shelter, education . . . and other public utilities . . . by the method of decentralized control."

The discussion is interesting, but it has little relevance to the American scene.

HARIDAS T. MUZUMDAR
Cornell College, Iowa

A HISTORY OF ECONOMIC THOUGHT.—By J. Fred Bell. Ronald, New York, 1953, x, 696 pp. \$6.50.

All "histories of economic thought" which have appeared in English the past ten years have been short treatments of the conspectus or interpretation type. This book is the first extensive chronological "manual" to appear since the first edition of Haney (1911) and the first English translation of Gide and Rist (1915). Whittaker (1940) is extensive in treatment but topical rather than chronological, while Gray, Roll, Ferguson, F. A. Neff, Newman, Heimann, Zweig and others are either brief or limited in scope.

Bell will appeal to teachers as a textbook of the longer type more than the newest editions of Gide-Rist and of Haney. The latter is usually considered excessively encyclopedic; the former is too Continental and French in emphasis with some of its best and most elaborate portions devoted to the multifarious brands of European socialist dissent.

Bell is comprehensive without being encyclopedic, covering the real landmarks in American academic analysis.

Bell's approach to his task of unfolding the development of economic thought is primarily to make a section-by-section analysis of each author's principal works. This method has advantages: the student may work through the original studies of each author without relying overmuch on prefabricated interpretations. But there are also disadvantages: this procedure seems to give a wooden, mechanical tone to the treatment. There is a lack of charm in presentation. Few readers will find inspiration or the thrill of new insight.

The quality of this book is very uneven. The part dealing with ancient and medieval economic thought is so inconsequential as to leave the impression that Professor Bell himself has no clear understanding of what these authors mean. Mercantilism and Physiocracy are better, but still mediocre. The author seems to feel at home when he deals with the Austrian, Lausanne and Cambridge economists. These portions are excellent.

The author seems to lack an appreciation of the influence of historical events and philosophical schools. This is not to say that an attempt is not made to fill in periodically with historical background, but there seems to be little appreciation of what is significant. There is no evidence of acquaintance with such background treatments as those of Cassirer, Bryson, Stark and Mannheim. The treatment of Greek economic thought would have profited from greater use of Trever; the Physiocrats would mean much more if the articles by Neill in the *Quarterly Journal of Economics* and in the *Journal of the History of Ideas* had been studied and used. The new Sraffa edition of Ricardo has thrown new light on this author, but, as explained in a footnote, this book had gone to press before this edition had become available.

RICHARD L. PORTER, S.J.
St. Louis University

THE UNITED STATES AND MEXICO.—By Howard F. Cline. Harvard University Press, Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1953, xvi, 407 pp. \$6.00.

This closely written book is the eleventh in a projected 25-volume library on American Foreign Policy, published under the general editorship of Sumner Welles. The author of the present volume, Howard Cline, is director of the Hispanic Foundation of the Library of Congress and has a wide background of field study in Mexico both in anthropology and economics, as well as the more conventional historical research.

By far the greater portion of the book is devoted to the story of modern Mexico from the revolt of Madero, and there is a good deal of hitherto unpublished material bearing on Wilson's early and inept attempts to deal with revolutionaries. To the citizens of the United States, the memories of that unhappy chapter in American foreign policy may be dim, but they are still a very real factor south of the border, where one of the telling canards cir-

culated against Ruiz Cortines in the last presidential campaign was that he had been an accessory to the American occupation of Vera Cruz.

One of the most effective sections of the book has to do with unraveling some of the more intricate aspects of Mexican politics and economics. It seems to this reviewer that the analysis of the Mexican party system and the workings of *Nacional Financiera* is especially valuable.

Of necessity this book suffers from some of the *lacunae* in Mexican scholarship itself—one outstanding example, of course, is the paucity of material dealing with Mexican labor, especially the much-vaunted Mexican philosophy of labor. The unreliability of a good deal of Mexican statistics is duly noted—but the author has included some useful statistical tables.

The controversial history of Church-State relationships is given rather summary treatment, and there are many who would disagree with what seems to be an overoptimistic picture of *Alemanismo*, or, for that matter, of industrialization in general. However, the book succeeds, on the whole, in its avowed purpose of presenting an objective picture of our relationship with one of the lesser powers—a relationship in which, over the years, we have learned much that should stand us in good stead in dealing with the burgeoning new states in the Near and Far East.

ELEANOR CARROLL
Saint Louis

A MERICAN CONSTITUTIONAL CUSTOM.—By B. C. Rodick, Philosophical Library, New York, 1953, xx, 244 pp. \$4.75.

The theme of this book is that custom and precedent largely determined the Constitution, not only as a document but also in its operational functioning. This may not have been so much "a forgotten factor in the founding" as the subtitle states, but the author does an excellent job of reminding the reader of the many factors, operating in England and the American colonies, which contributed historically to the result.

The book is well documented: there are 66 pages of notes and 24 pages of bibliography in a total of 265 pages in all, and their dates show a well seasoned interest in the problem.

C. F. T.
SOCIAL ORDER

LETTERS

Race Relations

Unfortunately the pressure of work prevented me from meeting your deadline [for "Progress in Race Relations," November, 1953]. As to your question:

1. The most constructive development in United States race relations in the past decade has been the gradual breaking-down of barriers to Negro employment and upgrading in industry and commerce. The effect . . . has been unprecedented economic well-being in the Negro community and a greater feeling of hopefulness and security. This has meant renewed support of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, the Urban League and other organizations, white and colored, which have been working for a better social order in America. Another by-product has been the gradual elimination of segregated units in the Armed Forces, which has been a wonderful education for young people, white and colored, drawn into the Services.

2. The critical area in race relations which I regard as most in need of education is the color bar in public accommodations: hotels, motels, tourist camps, restaurants, swimming pools and so forth. There is a vast area in the South, almost all of the West and considerable areas in the North and East, where the Negro traveler is a veritable pariah. This is a problem which cries for action, and I have been happy to note that the National Bar Association (Negro) has been actively at work through a special committee to initiate remedial measures in this connection, especially in the West.

GEORGE S. SCHUYLER
New York Editor, *The Courier*
New York City

Co-op Health

We were greatly pleased to see the excellent article entitled, "How Co-op Health Plans Work," written by Father A. H. Scheller of St. Louis University, and included in your October issue.

JERRY VOORHIS
Executive Secretary
Cooperative Health Federation of America

I have just read the article, "How Co-op Health Plans Work." The article might

well have been written by one of the union officials connected with L.H.I. It lacks the critical evaluation which I have come to expect in SOCIAL ORDER. Such an article should have thoroughly investigated the administration and control of L.H.I. Nor should the article have passed over the highly important factor of nonparticipation by so many union members. In fact, this subject might well have been the topic of an excellent article. The author should also have weighed the cost of L.H.I. While such an article might be frequently found in the so-called pious Catholic magazines, I feel it did not make the grade in SOCIAL ORDER.

A SUBSCRIBER

St. Louis, Mo.

Humanism and Industrialism

May one indulge the hope that the May-June issue, "Christian Humanism," is a forerunner of future symposia to be published by SOCIAL ORDER.

"The Christian in America's Industrial Civilization Today—Debits and Credits" would be a worth-while subject for discussion by political scientist, sociologist, economist, historian, educator, moralist and theologian.

An integrated appraisal would be helpful to balance the Cassandras and the Micawbers. . . .

N. M. SELINKA

New York

» One of the projects for future symposia now under consideration involves a series of about ten group studies that would open up several areas of thought outlined in the Christian Humanism symposium. The magnitude of such a project, requiring ten years' work, has aroused some misgivings. The tentative program of symposia would develop something like this: 1. Christian Humanism applied to selected areas of human life: work, entrepreneurship, leisure, marriage, education, religion, civil life. 2. Then each of these areas would, in turn, become the subject of more detailed analysis in a separate symposium. We would welcome readers' opinions of this proposal, as well as other suggestions for symposium topics.—ED.

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This writer gives some interesting insights into the Mexican situation today (particularly on the *braceros* as a big-scale economic factor).

Hershel Shanks, "Jewish-Gentile Intermarriage: Facts and Trends," *Commentary*, 16 (October, 1953) 370-75.

The author believes that the American Jewish intermarriage rate can be "reliably estimated at between 5 and 10 per cent." His estimate is based on sociological studies made in six communities.

David Riesman, "Marginality, Conformity, and Insight," *Phylon*, 14 (Third Quarter, 1953) 241-57.

The psychological terms in such great vogue at present are here illustrated by the author of *The Lonely Crowd* with an analysis of Richard Wright, the Negro ex-communist author.

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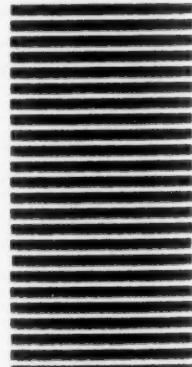


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Alfred Cobban, "The Decline of Political Theory," *Political Science Quarterly*, 68 (September, 1953) 221-337.

This London professor seeks to demonstrate that there is a tendency today to cease thinking about society in terms of political theory, as "a reflection of the feeling that ethical values have no place in the field of social dynamics and power politics."

Patrick Lynch, "The Economist and Public Policy," *Studies* (Dublin), (Autumn, 1953) 241-60.

Lecturer in economics at University College, Dublin, Mr. Lynch here discusses generally some economic and social functions of a modern government, popular misconceptions about them and the role of public servants in discharging their social and economic responsibilities. Fourteen pages of comment follow (by E. J. Coyne, S.J., F. C. King, John O'Donovan and Kevin Quinn, S.J.).

Friedrich Baerwald, "Challenges for the Catholic Economist," *America*, 90 (October 24, 1953) 93-95.

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Charles Blondel, "Retour à L'Arbitrage Obligatoire?" *Etudes*, 279 (Octobre, 1953) 18-34.

The French strikes of late summer have put attention on the need of arbitration, and the author cites instances of need from other areas to show a surer trend to compulsory arbitration as the most expedient means of insuring the public welfare.

Sal Tas, "South Africa Today," *The New Leader*, 36 (November 2, 1953) 44:16-20.

This writer presents a concise and fairly full picture of the political, economic, racial and general social aspects of Malan's empire, and sheds light on Indian-Negro relations and the actions and policies of the South African Indian Congress, now under control of communists from India. His comments on religion are too sketchy.

Cabell Phillips, "The Business Invasion of Washington," *Harper's Magazine*, No. 1241 (October, 1953) 58-63.

Showing the cumulative impact of scattered and "individually minor" events, this Washington correspondent of the *New York Times* says that the administration performance reveals three well-defined goals: 1. to reduce the size and cost of government and the extent of troublesome regulation; 2. to narrow the functions of government and 3. to end government competition with private enterprise. The businessmen officials "have yet to learn that politics is not the science of the market place but the art of the possible."

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